DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 142 058 FL 008 718

AUTHOR	Povey, John, Ed.
TITLE	Workpapers in Teaching English as a Second Language, Vol. 11.
INSTITUTION	California Univ., Los Angeles. Dept. of English.
PUB DATE	Jun 77
NOTE	141p.
AVAILABLE FROM	English as a Second Language, Dept. of English, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024 ($2.50)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Arabic; *Bilingualism; *Child Language; College Language Programs; Composition (Literary); Computer Assisted Instruction; Course Descriptions; Dialects; *English (Second Language); Error Analysis (Language); Foreign Students; French; Greek; Language Attitudes; *Language Development; Language Instruction; Language Tests; Language Universals; Language Usage; Language Variation; Phonology; Placement; *Second Language Learning; Spanish Speaking; Test Construction; Textbook Evaluation

ABSTRACT

This issue of the workpapers includes the following reports and papers: "The ESL Service Courses at UCLA: A Progress Report," by Kathleen M. Bailey; "A Comparison of Item Analysis Programs," by Earl Rand; "Stereotypes in Media - or - How to Avoid Functional Fixedness," by James Heaton; "The Search for a Second Language Acquisition Index of Development," by Diane Larsen-Freeman and Virginia Strom; "Optimal Age or Optimal Learners?" by Evelyn Hatch; "Accentedness in the Classroom," by Kathleen M. Bailey and Jose L. Galvan; "A Comparison of the Accented Speech of Seven Spanish-English Bilingual Speakers," by Jose L. Galvan, et. al.; "The Effects of a Summertime French Immersion Experience on the English and French Speech of a Bilingual Child," by Marianne Celce-Murcia; "An Initial Stage in a Child's Acquisition of Greek as His Native Language," by Frances B. Hinofotis; "An Analysis of the Fall 1975 Applicants for Admission to AUC," by J. Donald Bowen; "Some Phonological Problems Involved in Teaching English to Speakers of Egyptian Arabic (Cairene Dialect)," by Ali Ezzat Osman; "Evaluating an English Language Textbook," by Abdel Messih Daoud; and "Some Observations of the Commercial Usage of British Language Registers," by John Povey. Abstracts of MATESL theses at UCLA are also included in this volume. (CFM)

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ED142058

WORKPAPERS

in Teaching English as a Second Language

Volume XI June 1977

University of California, Los Angeles

FL008718

DEDICATION: TO MRS. J. S.

An important book requires a dedication. In the most famous frontispiece in English Shakespeare provides an admiring recognition of "The only begetter of these insuing sonnets Mr. W. H." He thus contrived a debate continuing to the present day as to who Mr. W. H. might be. If I wrote in a similar vein, that "the only begetter of these workpapers" was Mrs. J. S. there would be no confusion here for all the irreplaceable service Mrs. J. S. supplies: to the degree that it has become difficult to imagine the department without her constant admonitions and administrations.

Yet perhaps Shakespeare too thought that the common knowledge of Mr. W. H. would be retained across the ages and climes. Since our readers on other continents in years hence may similarly lack memory of legendary times, let me specific: This dedication is made to Mrs. Joan Samara with whom all things seem possible and by whom the difficulties have been resolved.

INTRODUCTION

The workpapers presented here demonstrate the individual specialties of the faculty. As such they provide revealing evidence of the directions being taken by the department as a whole in the development of our work.

The reports from Cairo from our own faculty and visiting scholars at UCLA refer to the main present thrust in our international programs. The study submitted by Jose Galvan evidences our equally strong commitment to bilingual education in this country. That this article incorporates the work of several graduate students, indicates how advanced training is integrated into our programs. The articles by Evelyn Hatch, Marianne Celce-Murcia, Frances Hinofotis and Diane Larsen-Freeman take us a further stage into research in the area of language acquisition which is a major theoretical interest. The studies of Earl Rand on testing, to evaluate the competencies of our foreign students, and Kathi Bailey's report on the nature of the introductory and remedial English classes demonstrates that as a department, we continue to accept the prime responsibility for providing language teaching, the end to which all our research must ultimately be directed. Jim Heaton's concerns for audio-visual assistance is a further example of this effort to serve the community, both students and teachers.

In reviewing the contents of these individual papers we can begin to see the shape that the department has been taking over the last few years. When the department was first founded, our certificate program was an innovative development in teacher training. As the need for more specialized competencies became apparent, an M.A. in TESL was added to our program. This degree required a further post-certificate year of study and a substantial thesis. Our continuing determination to continue work in the newer fields of professional study soon made it apparent that the M.A. was still not enough. It did not permit the kind of study substantial in both breadth and depth that the profession was now requiring. Already some of the more energetic and dedicated students were working on theses that came close to matching the expectations usually reserved for a doctoral dissertation in both extent and content.

The need for a Ph.D. in TESL seemed convincingly obvious. Such a requirement marked an important coming of age in our profession. Most professors in our field, including those in our own department, have, in fact, been trained in other peripheral disciplines. Linguistics was the most common preparation, but English, Education, or a Foreign Language study were fields which had supplied TESL with some of its most able proponents. TESL has now become too important for this to remain as ideal or adequate training. Forces of linguistic change are making further demands upon our commitment to language learning.

The bilingual programs in this country have become vigorous means of educational change. Outside the USA there is increasing recognition that international development is more closely related to language choice and linguistic policy than had been acknowledged to date. The needs occasioned by such programs only provide further evidence that no single discipline can adequately resolve the issues related to language apprehension, now seen to be infinitely more complex and subtle in its multiple causation. Research that would often be considered marginal in certain disciplines would be joined under the coherent approach that TESL required.

Since the department is now separated into an autonomous division of the English Department, it was free to explore the form a new TESL doctorate might make. It was planned in conjunction with the highly esteemed UCLA Department of Linguistics, which had also recognized the need for such advanced training. The concerns of these departments indicated in part by the topics of these workpapers suggests the content for each of our faculty are themselves deeply involved in original areas of research. In this way the new Ph.D. reflects our field. Specifically there will be four separate areas of concentration which can provide the subject of the doctoral dissertation, viz.: Language Use, Language Acquisition, Language Education, and Language Analysis. The degree will be called a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics. There have been comments indicating some dissatisfaction with the title itself and yet it has some clear legitimacy. The term is commonly used within the profession and people know approximately what belongs within this field so there is at least general acceptability.

In September the first group of 10 students will begin the long hard grind towards this new pinnacle of intellectual achievement within the profession. They were selected from such a large number of applicants that it was very clear from the beginning that there had been a substantial need within the profession for such a qualification, certainly more than ever we had anticipated. The applicants were selected with difficulty because of the high overall level of competence. They are almost awesomely qualified by rich general experience and are most patently able to carry forward our profession into new levels of academic originality and practical efficiency.

The real evidence supplied by the development of our program from its early days some 19 years ago is that the teaching of language is no casual topic. It is something to influence deeply many aspects of educational development and social change within our own country and abroad. With such an expectation TESL has a potential to effect human lives in a way which will make us proud to be pioneers in such work. The essays presented here in this year's workpapers give further evidence of the intellectual exploration already being developed by our faculty. Our plans for a new doctoral degree indicate the importance we place on the dissemination of this knowledge by training dedicated teachers and researchers to the highest responsible level of ability for the services which will be required in the next decade of rapid social and international change.

John Povey
Editor

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THE ESL SERVICE COURSES AT UCLA: A PROGRESS REPORT

Kathleen M. Bailey

Introduction

As well as administering its graduate programs in Teaching English as a Second Language, the TESL Section of the UCLA English Department also provides instruction in English for UCLA's foreign student population. These classes are referred to as the ESL Service Courses and are offered through the university and the American Language Center (UCLA Extension) for college credit. They are normally taught by teaching assistants (graduates in the TESL program) under the supervision of a faculty member. It is the purpose of this essay to describe these courses, to report on progress and decisions made during the 1976-77 academic year, and to make suggestions for further improvement of the ESL Service Courses at UCLA.

Overview of the ESL Service Courses

When a new foreign student first comes to UCLA (whether as a regularly enrolled university student or as an Extension student), he is required to take the English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE). This is a locally developed, three-hour comprehensive exam that tests all the language skills except speaking. On the basis of the test scores, students are placed in the appropriate ESL classes. The scores on the various subtests are available to the teachers in the form of histograms (bar graphs) which show each student's relative strengths and weaknesses.

Students who don't receive a given minimum score on the ESLPE are enrolled in XL832 or some other basic English course offered by the American Language Center. XL832 is not offered through the University and no college credit is given for participation in this course. University students who are placed in XL832 must normally postpone their enrollment in other university courses for one quarter. The class meets ten hours per week and the enrollment is limited to fifteen students per section.

XL832 is a basic course which emphasizes the simple tenses, statements, questions, negatives, imperatives and the English pronoun system. The grammar studied is put to use in communicative activities. For example, following a unit on question formation (and practice with the teletrainers), a student may be given the telephone number of a theater to call for information. He must then find out what film is playing, when the movie starts, how much it costs, where the theater is located, etc. XL832 also involves the acquisition of vocabulary and work with the sound system of English. Most of the materials used at this level have been developed at UCLA specifically for XL832 (see annotated bibliography, Appendix A).

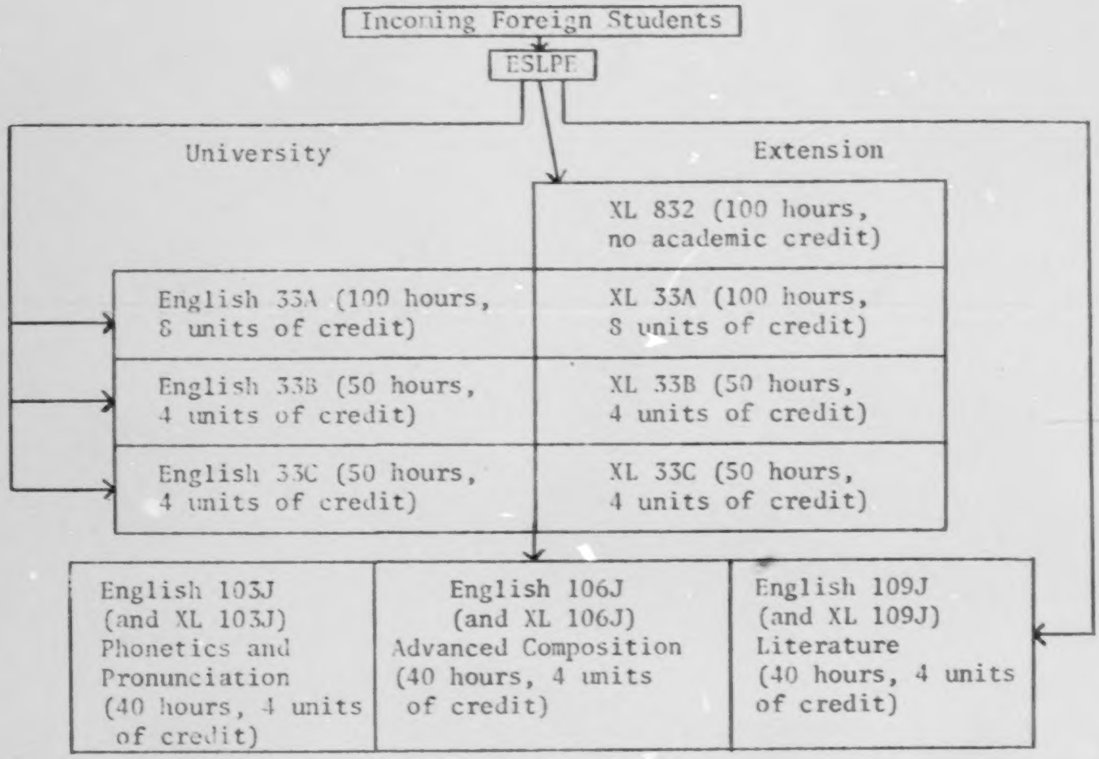
Upon successful completion of XL832, students enter the English 33 series. Other students are placed directly in English 33A, 33B or 33C as a result of their ESLPE scores. The 33 series courses are offered through the university as well as the American Language Center. These are considered lower-division academic courses and students receive college credit for successful completion of these courses.

The first class of the series, English 33A, is still a fairly basic course which emphasizes grammar with communicative applications. English 33A is an eight-unit course which meets ten hours per week. While taking 33A, a university student may also enroll in one other course. The basic curriculum stresses the perfective tenses, the modal auxiliaries, articles, prepositions, comparisons, conditionals, and basic punctuation. There is also some work on guided composition and continued attention to pronunciation and vocabulary building. A reading text is also used.

Following successful completion of English 33A (or as a result of their ESLPE scores), students enroll in English 33B. This is a four-unit class that meets five hours per week. Students in 33B are frequently enrolled in two other university courses. In this course the emphasis is on reading comprehension, vocabulary development and writing effective paragraphs. Although there are certain grammar problems typically covered in 33B, the grammar to be taught is largely determined through error analysis. Dictations, dicto-comps and speed-writing are all used to stimulate composition. Students frequently work in small groups for problem-solving, role-playing, values clarification and peer correction. Certain study skills needed in college are introduced. These include activities such as outlining, note-taking and using the dictionary. Recorded radio broadcasts and videotapes are often used for listening comprehension practice.

The final required course in this series is English 33C. This is a four-unit course that meets five hours per week. Students in 33C normally take two or three other courses at the same time. The emphasis in 33C is on composition skills and the application of various reading strategies to unsimplified written material. The grammar taught in 33C is determined almost entirely by error analysis of the written work. Additional emphasis is placed on the study skills which were introduced in 33B, with a new feature being extensive work on the use of library tools. During the second half of the quarter the students research, organize and write a term paper. Frequently the information gathered in this process is presented orally to the class in a brief speech, which is followed by a question and answer period. Group work, radio broadcasts and videotapes are also used in 33C.

After successfully completing English 33C (or upon exemption from the English 33 series via the ESLPE), students may enroll in any of three upper-division elective courses. English 103J, Phonetics for Foreign Students, involves intensive oral practice, study of the English sound system, and work on improving pronunciation and aural discrimination. English 106J, Advanced Composition for Foreign Students, introduces several different rhetorical approaches and gives the students intensive writing practice. English 109J, Literature for Foreign Students, introduces selections from both American and British literature (primarily short stories and poetry). Each of these courses is offered through the American Language Center as well as the UCLA English Department. Each class meets four hours per week and is worth four units of university credit.


Incoming Foreign Students
ESLPE
University
Extension
XL 832 (100 hours, no academic credit)
English 33A (100 hours, 8 units of credit)
XL 33A (100 hours, 8 units of credit)
English 33B (50 hours, 4 units of credit)
XL 33B (50 hours, 4 units of credit)
English 33C (50 hours, 4 units of credit)
XL 33C (50 hours, 4 units of credit)
English 103J (and XL 103J) Phonetics and Pronunciation (40 hours, 4 units of credit)
English 106J (and XL 106J) Advanced Composition (40 hours, 4 units of credit)
English 109J (and XL 109J) Literature (40 hours, 4 units of credit)

The Office of International Students and Scholars at UCLA recently completed a study which examined a sample of placement test results for incoming foreign students (Sanneh, 1977). The study included test scores of 1,329 students, 667 undergraduates and 662 graduates, who entered UCLA from 1974 to 1976. In looking at the biographical data and the test results it was found that a large portion of the entering foreign students come to UCLA to study engineering. The geographic distribution of the population was as follows:

Asian Countries	41%
Western Europe	14%
Iran	13%
Latin America	12%
North Africa & the Middle East	9%
Others	11%

This study also revealed that 30.9% of the entering foreign students were exempt from taking any required English courses as a result of their placement test scores. As might be expected, students coming from countries in which English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools had less need for the ESL Service Courses than other students. The remaining students in the sample were placed in classes as follows:

English 33C	37.6%
English 33B	16.9%
English 33A	9.8%
English 832	4.8%

This means that eventually 69.1% of all foreign students at UCLA take English 33C. The study also determined that students from Korea and Iran were more likely to be placed in English 33B (or lower) than were other entering foreign students.

Efforts to Coordinate the Courses

As mentioned above, most of the lower division service courses are taught by graduate students in the TESL Certificate and M.A. programs. (Faculty members usually teach the upper division courses, and occasionally teach a section of English 33C.) In order to coordinate activities within the different sections of the service courses, all the teaching assistants enroll in ESL 495K: Supervision and Training of Teaching Assistants. This is a two-unit course which was designed for the dual purpose of formalizing the supervision of TA's and giving the graduate students academic credit for their preparation time and classroom experience.

The teaching assistants are also required to attend a training program before fall quarter begins. Over the past few years this training has grown from a single afternoon of discussion to a week-long series of meetings and workshops. In 1975 and 1976 the training programs were planned largely by the teaching assistants and careful follow-up evaluations have been done. In general the demand is for more exposure to (and less discussion of) students and materials.

Given a student population from widely divergent cultural and linguistic backgrounds and a teaching staff composed largely of graduate students, steps have been taken to coordinate the curricula of these classes. To insure their consistency (across sections and quarters) a committee composed of faculty members, teaching assistants and other graduate students determines the policies which govern the service courses. This year the Service Course Committee has concentrated on defining the course content of two courses, English 33B and 33C. There were two reasons for this. First, these courses serve the greatest number of students. Secondly, a complete structural sequence (i.e., grammatical structures to be taught and a suggested order of presentation) had already been designed for English 33A and XL832 by Rina Shapira, a graduate student doing a work-study project under the supervision of Prof. Celce-Murcia.

In order to unify the curricula of English 33B and 33C the Service Course Committee has established objectives for both of these courses. This process has involved a long series of negotiations. The first step in determining the objectives of English 33B and 33C was to ask the teachers of those courses what their goals were. The information provided by the teaching assistants (TA's) was synthesized and presented in draft form to the Service Course Committee and TA's for revision. After much discussion a second draft of the objectives for English 33C was produced. Although they are not stated in the strict behavioral terms and performance criteria popular during the 1960's, it is hoped that these objectives will provide the teacher with firm guidelines (and yet sufficient freedom) to plan course content effectively.

Course Objectives: English 33C

(The objectives are grouped into reading skills, study skills, writing skills, listening skills, vocabulary and oral work.)

By the end of English 33C a student should be able to:

*1. identify the main idea of a reading passage written for educated adult native speakers of English.
2. skim a reading passage for specific information.
*3. answer comprehension questions based on material written for educated adult native speakers of English.
4. summarize a reading passage.
*5. make an outline (a) from lecture notes, (b) from reading material, or (c) for organization of a composition.
6. take notes on reading assignments.
*7. use library reference tools (card catalogue, Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, encyclopedias, etc.).
*8. write a precise, convincing and well-organized expository composition with an introduction, body and conclusion.
9. proofread and revise his/her written work.
10. use connectives correctly within and between paragraphs.
*11. prepare a term paper (including footnotes, bibliography, title page, etc.).
12. understand conversational English.
*13. understand the main idea of a media broadcast or lecture in English.
*14. answer content questions on a media broadcast or lecture in English.
*15. take notes on a lecture.
16. recognize various prefixes, suffixes and word stems and use them to analyze new vocabulary items.
17. use new vocabulary items in composition.
18. participate in group work and class discussions.
*19. prepare and give a short, coherent oral presentation to the class.
20. answer questions following such a talk.

*These objectives are considered to be the most important.

Other worthwhile objectives for English 33C (given time constraints and student ability) could include getting meaning from context, paraphrasing, detecting author's bias, making inferences in reading, writing creatively and clearly, and mastering eighty to a hundred new vocabulary items. Grammar problems and writing mechanics should also be reviewed.

The course objectives for English 33B are also still in draft form. Although more study and discussion are needed, Regina Neuman's M.A. research (1977) has done much to define the specific problems of this intermediate level course. The draft of objectives currently operative for English 33B is as follows:

Course Objectives: English 33B

(The objectives are grouped as writing skills, reading skills, listening skills, speaking skills and study skills.)

By the end of English 33B a student should be able to:

1. identify topic sentences and supporting evidence in written paragraphs.
2. write an appropriate topic sentence for a written paragraph.
3. write an appropriate concluding statement for a written paragraph.
4. organize "scrambled" sentences in a logical order.
5. write supporting evidence (i.e., supply the body of the paragraph) if given a topic sentence and a concluding sentence.
6. delete extraneous material from a written paragraph.
*7. write a well-developed paragraph (with topic sentence, supporting evidence and conclusion) in response to a question.
*8. write well-developed paragraphs (with topic sentences, supporting evidence and conclusions) in the context of a longer composition.
9. divide a written text into appropriate paragraphs.
*10. identify the main idea of a reading passage (such as those in Developing Reading Skills).
*11. answer specific content questions about a reading passage.
12. take basic notes on a reading passage.
13. fill in a partial outline on a reading selection.
14. get information from a newspaper.
*15. identify the main idea of a listening comprehension passage.
*16. answer factual questions on a listening comprehension passage.
17. take lecture notes within an organizational framework, such as a partial outline, given structural clues.
*18. answer and ask questions during class discussion.
19. give and understand directions (as in group work).
*20. present a brief talk to the class.
*21. use a monolingual English dictionary.

*These objectives are considered to be most important.

Although there are certain grammar problems that appear consistently in English 33B and 33C, the grammar that is taught is determined largely by error analysis of the students' written and oral English. It is hoped that this measure of flexibility will enable the teaching assistants to deal effectively with the problems of individual students and class groups. The Service Course Committee will continue to examine the objectives of both English 33B and 33C, and eventually reappraise the goals of all the lower division Service Courses to insure the coordination and thoroughness of the series.

Level-wide Final Examinations

As a second means of unifying the intermediate service courses, a level-wide final examination has been developed for the first time. In the past, final examinations were designed by individual teaching assistants and differed from section to section. At the end of Fall Quarter this year two portions of the ESLPE were administered as a post-test to students in all the service courses. It was generally agreed that the results didn't provide the teachers of the intermediate levels with much information about what their students had learned during the quarter because the post-test was not specifically related to the material that had been covered in the course. For example, the verb forms subtest was an appropriate post-course measure only for English 33A students because so much of that course is devoted to studying modals and tenses. Consequently during Winter Quarter, 1977, a uniform final examination was designed to test the most important objectives of English 33C:

skills in reading, note-taking and writing. This test was developed by the teaching assistants with the help of the Testing Committee.

In order to avoid an informational bias favorable to students who might be familiar with a given topic, it was decided to develop a test around a subject familiar to all the students. Since each section of English 33C had completed a chapter on population problems in the reading text, it was felt that the concepts and vocabulary involved in a discussion of population would be equally familiar to all the students.

The test format involved a brief reading passage about population followed by twenty True-False questions. The students were allowed thirty minutes to complete the reading section of the test. This was followed by a nine-minute videotaped lecture on the theories of Robert Malthus. Students took notes during the lecture and then had a few minutes to look over these notes. They were then allowed to read twenty True/False questions based on the material presented in the lecture. These questions were turned face down on the desks while the videotape was played a second time. The students clarified and corrected their notes and then finally answered the questions from the information in their notes. The note-taking portion of the exam took about forty minutes. The final section of the test was the writing of a three-hundred word composition on a related topic. The students were given approximately one hour in which to write and proofread their compositions. They were told they could make an outline or write a rough draft, and even use dictionaries if they wished. They were also allowed to utilize ideas from the reading passage, the lecture and any other information they were familiar with. It was thought that these last instructions would facilitate the examination of organization and expression, while not penalizing a student for lacking original thoughts on population control. Out of 114 people who took the test there were only two cases of plagiarism. In the future this possibility will be prevented by collecting the reading passage before the students begin to write.

Each composition was read by two readers other than the student's own teacher. They were scored using a point system composed of five categories: Introduction/Conclusion, Body: Content and Organization, Quality of Expression, Grammar, and Punctuation/Mechanics. No effort was made to control for inter-rater reliability, however. In future quarters it will be necessary to train the readers in the use of the composition scale and to revise the point distribution slightly. It will also be necessary to develop other forms of the test (i.e., with readings, lectures and composition topics based on other subjects) in order to insure test security from quarter to quarter.

The entire final examination for English 33C lasted approximately two hours and ten minutes. Since the allotted final exam periods are three hours long, several of the teaching assistants also included a grammar section based on the specific information covered in the individual sections of the course. This format appears to provide a healthy compromise between standardization and individualization.

The teaching assistants also developed a level-wide final examination for the English 33B classes as well. This exam was based on the format of Developing Reading Skills (Hirasawa and Markstein, 1974) and included a reading passage followed by comprehension questions, a word forms exercise, a section on synonyms, multiple choice questions on interpreting the reading passage, and a related composition topic. The readers looked at the English 33B students' compositions using the following scale: topic sentences (ten points), supporting ideas (ten points), mechanics/punctuation (five points), no extraneous material (ten points) and grammar (fifteen points). Since the writing objectives in English 33B emphasize paragraphing, the readers judged these compositions for paragraph organization rather than the overall organization of the essay.

In the coming months the course objectives should be re-examined in the light of these examination results. Future versions of the English 33C final examination should include multiple choice and open-ended questions to minimize the effects of guessing. Ultimately the standardized final examinations must be clearly related to the course curriculum, which in turn must be based on the actual language needs of the students. The course content and final examinations should also influence and continue to be influenced by the placement examination. Ideally, the ESLPE should tell us which necessary skills a student lacks, and the courses should then meet those needs.

Innovations in the ESL Courses

In an effort to make the course content more relevant to students' needs two innovations are being considered in the ESL service courses. The first is the implementation of the Workbook in Library Skills as a part of the curriculum of English 33C. Developed by Miriam Dudley of the College Library, the Workbook in Library Skills is an individualized text designed to acquaint students with library resources through "hands on" experience. During Winter Quarter, 1977, the students in two sections of English 33C participated in the Library Skills Program as a required assignment. These students comprised the experimental group in a research project which will hopefully determine the effectiveness of the Library Skills Program with foreign students at UCLA. The Workbook in Library Skills was completed during the first half of the quarter to prepare the students for their term paper assignment during the second half of the quarter. The students in the other three sections were the control group. Their instruction in the use of library tools was planned by the individual teachers. Basically it consisted of a trip to the library and the unit on reference materials in Study Skills for Students of English as a Second Language (Yorkey, 1970). A pre- and post-test was administered to both groups to measure the students' knowledge of library resources before and after the training. The experimental group was also given an attitude questionnaire to determine their affective response to the Workbook in Library Skills. Finally, the bibliographies were collected from the students' term papers to ascertain whether either group used a greater number or diversity of references.

During Spring Quarter, 1977, the pre- and post-test will be readministered to a new group of students and the Library Skills Program will be offered as an optional extra credit assignment for all English 33C students. The attitude questionnaire will be given to those who complete the library program. These steps should help the teachers and the Service Course Committee determine the most effective method of introducing foreign students to the UCLA library facilities.

The second innovation under consideration is the establishment of a new service course. In Winter Quarter, 1976, a poll of UCLA deans and department chairmen was conducted to determine what language problems foreign students were having in their academic work. Among the responses, the most serious complaint stated in the memo compiled by Prof. Celce-Murcia was:

> "Foreign students who have completed all of our required classes often are still unable to communicate their ideas in speech -- when confronted with situations such as oral reports, oral exams, seminar participation, etc. The feeling expressed was that the main problem was not 'accent' but fluency and coherence."

During the academic year 1975-76 the Service Course Committee developed a tentative description for a new course which would meet these needs: English 34, Advanced Oral Communication for Foreign Students. At the end of the school year the proposed course was being considered by the TESL faculty, but many questions remained unanswered: What would be the relationship between the new course and English 103J? Would we be infringing upon the Speech Department's territory to offer such a course? How would the course be funded? What would be the objectives of the course and what population would it serve?

As of this writing some of these questions can be answered. First, it was determined by the faculty and the Service Course Committee that English 34 would rotate with English 103J, with the added stipulation that 103J would be offered every Spring Quarter to coincide with English 103K. As mentioned above, English 103J, Phonetics for Foreign Students, works primarily on correct production and aural discrimination of the English sound system. English 34 would be more closely related to oral discourse patterns and organization of oral speech. Members of the Speech Department were consulted about the need for such a course and the input given by Sonja Packer and Marde Gregory has been particularly helpful in developing the course description. Their general feeling was that the establishment of this course would be a very worthwhile contribution and that we should consider cross-listing the course in both departments. The proposed course also has the support of the Office of International Students and Scholars. At this time the issues of funding and staffing are still undecided.

This year the Service Course Committee surveyed students in order to identify the population that would be served by English 34 and to determine whether or not the students felt the need for such a course. During Winter Quarter, 1977, students in university and extension sections of English 33C, 103J, 106J and 109J were asked to indicate which of fourteen communicative activities in the academic environment they were currently involved in or expected to be involved in sometime during their college careers. One hundred sixty-nine students responded to the questionnaire with the following results:

Oral Activity	% of Students Involved
1. Discuss problems with a TA, professor or advisor	87%
2. Defend opinions or viewpoints	72%
3. Ask questions/make comments after hearing a lecture	70%
4. Organize and give brief talks	62%
5. Participate in seminars	60%

6. Discuss original research	60%
7. Defend thesis or dissertation	54%
8. Give lectures or speeches	52%
9. Analyze a lecture given by someone else (critical listening)	51%
10. Discuss a lecture given by someone else (as a TA would do)	49%
11. Participate in debates	49%
12. Analyze or critique an original talk (given by the student himself)	43%
13. Take notes for someone else in a lecture situation	43%
14. Participate in panel discussions	42%

The students were also asked to specify any other oral activities they participate in. Frequent responses included daily conversation, job interviews and working with the public. Students perceived most of the areas listed above as problematic. In optional open-ended comments, several wrote that they avoid asking questions in class, keep quiet in seminars, have problems talking to professors, etc. Thirty-seven percent of the students polled stated that they would definitely be interested in taking a course that would help them overcome these difficulties. In terms of the academic status of those indicating an interest, the distribution was as follows:

Academic Status of Respondents	% of Respondents who wish to enroll
Extension students (all classes)	23%
University students:	
Freshmen	32%
Sophomores	35%
Juniors	43%
Seniors	52%
Graduates	33%

The information yielded in the survey of students confirms the feeling of the deans and department chairmen that there is in fact a need for a course in advanced oral communication for foreign students. A recent study of new foreign students by the Office of International Students and Scholars also substantiates this need. The Service Course Committee and the TESL faculty are currently examining the proposed course description. Hopefully with their support and that of the Office of International Students and Scholars and the Speech Department, English 34 will be added as a new service course at UCLA within the coming year.

Materials

Any discussion of UCLA's ESL Service Courses would be incomplete without some mention of the materials currently being used. This year some of the texts that had been used previously were eliminated in order to minimize the expense to the students and to insure a more thorough treatment of the material to be covered. For example, in the past, three different grammar books were used in English 33A, B and C at a total cost to the student of $20.15. This year it was decided to use Mastering American English (Hayden, Pilgrim and Haggard, 1956) in both English 33A and 33B. This decision saves the students required to take both classes $7.00 but it also necessitates careful coordination between the levels in order to avoid overlap. An annotated bibliography of the texts currently being used in the English 33 series follow this article.

It should be noted that each of the English 33 series courses utilizes a reading text. During Spring Quarter, 1977, for the first time a reading text will be used in English XL832 as well. Two of the TESL graduate students, Alan Black and Thom Hudson, under the guidance of Prof. Marianne Celce-Murcia, have written a low-level, high-interest reading text which will be piloted and evaluated in a section of English XL832.

The text, which is tentatively entitled City Energy, consists of articles on the culture of and places in Southern California: Griffith Park, the Watts Towers, the movie rating system, the freeways, singles' life, etc. Each reading lesson involves a multi-day procedure. The students first look at the pictures and predict the content of the article. This introductory activity is based on the ideas of Kenneth Goodman (1970), a psycholinguist who believes that reading is a process of making and testing hpotheses, rather then simply decoding word-symbols. The teacher provides immediate feedback about the students' predictions. Then the teacher reads aloud at a slower than normal pace while the students read silently. As homework the students read the article themselves, and during the next class period the teacher reads it aloud at a normal pace. Then the class discusses the vocabulary and does the exercises.

City Energy will be revised using the information gathered in the spring quarter pilot study. Hopefully, the use of this text will help to solidify the curriculum of English XL832 and make it a more academic course which will truly prepare students for the English 33 series.

There are also other materials currently being developed for use in the service courses. In general, there is an observable trend toward self-paced instruction, particularly in the lower levels. For example, this year the teaching assistants working with English XL832 and 33A developed an Individualized Listening Library. This is a collection of cassette tapes and worksheets which the students check out on an individual basis as they wish. No assignments are made, but those students who want practice in listening comprehension are given guidance and feedback in the use of these materials. Initial response from the students has been very positive. Additions to the Individualized Listening Library will be made as funds are available.

One such addition is a set of survival English tapes developed by Susan Greenwood, a graduate student in TESL in 1975-76. The Greenwood tapes are a group of naturalistic conversations about daily transactions: getting on a bus, ordering food, buying clothing and shoes, etc. Exercises to accompany these tapes have been developed by John Dermody, the graduate student who submitted the original proposal for the Individualized Listening Library. The exercises for each tape include listening, taking notes, trying to sound out new words, sounding out those words which are written in phonetic transcription, and then writing the words in conventional spelling. Students also answer comprehension questions and do a cloze exercise with the script, which is also provided for performing dialogues. The entire group of exercises is corrected by the student, who may then go to the teacher for further guidance.

Individualized grammar materials are also being developed for use in the ESL Service Courses. Another graduate student, Virginia Strom, has designed several packets to help students at the English 33A level with persistent problem areas, such as irregular verbs, spelling rules, comparatives, and reported speech. Each packet includes an introduction to the topic, followed by examples and manipulative exercises. In working through the exercises the students "write" the rules themselves by filling in the blanks in partially completed statements. The exercises gradually become less controlled until the students are applying all the rules presented in the lesson. The lessons are coordinated with, but not dependent upon, Encounters: A Basic Reader (Pimsleur and Berger, 1974), the reading text used in English 33A. Each packet contains a key for self-checking. As with the Individualized Listening Library, the use of these individualized learning packets is entirely voluntary. Students work on their areas of weakness and use these packets as supplements to their regular classroom instruction.

Hopefully the development of these and other locally-produced, individualized materials will enable the ESL Service Courses to better meet the total language needs of the foreign student population at UCLA. Careful coordination between levels and re-evaluation of the texts used will insure a thorough treatment of the subject matter at less cost to the student.

Conclusion:

During the 1976-77 academic year the teaching assistants and the Service Course Committee have done a great deal to unify and improve the ESL classes at UCLA. Continued redefinition of course objectives and development of the standardized level finals are necessary. The final examinations should take several different forms and more careful attention must be given to the process of scoring the compositions. The results of the English 33C research involving the Library Skills Course will be examined in hopes of finding the most effective means of introducing the students to library resources. The input from the Speech Department, the Office of International Students and Scholars, and the TESL faculty will be coordinated in the development of English 104J, Advanced Oral Communication for Foreign Students. Finally, through the utilization of more individualized materials, as well as in-house texts such as City Energy, which are specifically designed for use with UCLA's foreign student population, the ESL Service Courses will be better prepared to meet the language needs of the ESL students.

However, there is a great deal of work yet to be done. The Service Course Committee needs to scrutinize the entire set of course objectives including the structural sequence used in English 33A and XL832. If the American Language Center decides to phase out XL832 in favor of its intensive English program or the new Community Adult English courses, the TESL Section must devise some means of helping those students who have been admitted to the University but who are not ready for English 33A. It has long been felt that the course syllabus for English 33A is difficult to cover in one quarter, depending on the pre-entry behavior of the students. If XL832 continues, a minimum cut-off score on the ESLPE must be established for admission to the course. It is possible that there will eventually be two academic courses operating at the lower levels, e.g., English 33A-1 and 33A-2. In any event, the lower level courses must be examined closely during the coming year to insure that the 14.6% of UCLA's foreign student population who place in these classes are in fact getting the best possible preparation for the more advanced courses and for university work in general.

Another important consideration for the future would involve the provision of language laboratory facilities for the ESL students. In the past there have been such facilities available, but with the gradual decline of the audio-lingual method they came to be used less and less. Apparently the TESL Section has tacitly assumed that no language lab was needed here in this total immersion environment. Over the years students have expressed a need for practice in a lab situation, but now that need has been formally voiced through the Office of International Students and Scholars. Their information indicates that foreign students at UCLA are not in fact communicating with Americans as much as might have been expected. The highly positive initial response to the Individualized Listening Library also indicates that all the service courses should include more guided listening practice. Since the English 33B and 33C sections have been doing listening comprehension exercises in class on a weekly basis, it appears that taped materials which a student can use at his own pace are also needed.

As English for Special Purposes gains wider global attention, we should be considering options for meeting the specific language needs of the professions represented by the various colleges and departments at UCLA. Research conducted by two graduate students (Brann, 1976; Clarke, 1976) has laid the groundwork for developing courses geared to the needs of engineering and biological science students. Discussions have begun with the School of Engineering to try to determine the feasibility of a specialized ESL course for engineering students, but no one currently has the funds needed to support such an effort.

In the final analysis, much has been done this year to upgrade the quality of the ESL Service Courses, but much more must still be done. The TESL Section of the UCLA English Department is known throughout the world as an outstanding teacher training program. There is no reason why it should not also be known for providing a first-rate ESL program. In the years to come the section must allocate more time, money and interest to the ESL Service Courses and work more closely with both the American Language Center and the Office of International Students and Scholars, in order to meet the language needs of UCLA's foreign student population.

Appendix A

Annotated Bibliography of Textbooks used in the Lower-Division ESL Service Courses at UCLA

I. English XL832 (upper elementary level):

1. Dobson, Julia M. and Sedwick, Frank. Conversation in English: Points of Departure. New York: American Book Co., 1975.

This text was designed to promote vocabulary acquisition, conversation and basic composition. Each lesson involves a drawing followed by a list of related vocabulary. There are also factual questions ("Analysis of the drawing") and communicative questions ("Points of departure") with each sketch. The final section of each lesson lists five composition topics involving the active use of the vocabulary and concepts of the lesson. The topics are generally based on life in the United States: the home, shopping, public facilities, working people, etc. A twelve-page "Teacher's Guide" at the beginning of the book offers valuable suggestions for using this text.

2. Johnson, Gayle. English 832 Writing Materials, Marianne Celce-Murcia, ed. UCLA Pre-publication version, 1975.

This text is a set of carefully controlled writing exercises built around the XL832 grammar syllabus. It was written by Gayle Johnson, a graduate who taught XL832. Under Prof. Celce-Murcia's guidance it will be revised by Donna Brinton, another graduate student who has taught the course.

3. Black, Alan and Hudson, Thomas. City Energy. UCLA pre-publication version, 1977.

This is a collection of low-level, high interest articles about life in southern California. Each lesson is preceded by pre-reading activities in which the students try to predict the content of the article by examining the pictures. Exercises follow each reading selection.

II. English 33A (lower intermediate level):

1. Pimsleur, Paul and Berger, Donald. Encounters: A Basic Reader. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1974.

This text is a collection of simplified journalistic articles designed to acquaint ESL students with American periodicals, and to help them read fluently. The basic vocabulary consists of 1,418 words, with the less common words defined in the margin. Each lesson consists of a reading passage followed by vocabulary and grammar exercises, comprehension questions and a communicative activity (cross-cultural discussion topics, reports, personal opinions, etc.).

2. Hayden, Rebecca E., Pilgrim, Dorothy W. and Haggard, Aurora Q. Mastering American English: A Handbook-Workbook of Essentials. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1956.

By adopting the "handbook-workbook" format, the authors have provided grammar rules and the environment for using them. Each unit is followed by exercises utilizing the structure in question. The layout is clear and concise.

III. *ESL 33B* (intermediate):

1. Hirasawa, Louise and Markstein, Linda. *Developing Reading Skills.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, Inc. 1974.

   The purpose of this text is "to develop reading skills and to expand general vocabulary as a preparatory step toward reading and understanding college texts." The articles deal with scientific and cultural topics, including information on women in the USSR, the Japanese, and the Blackfoot Indians, as well as passages on American society. Each selection is followed by a very thorough series of grammar and vocabulary exercises, and a comprehension check. An answer key is provided at the back of the book.

2. Hayden, Rebecca E., Pilgrim, Dorothy W. and Haggard, Aurora Q. *Mastering American English: A Handbook-Workbook of Essentials.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1956.

   See above.

3. Yorkey, Richard C. *Study Skills for Students of English as a Second Language.* New York: McGraw Hill. 1970.

   This workbook was written to prepare students for academic work in an environment where English is the medium of instruction. It includes units on study habits, the dictionary, outlining, the library, making notes and taking tests. The illustrations and examples are particularly useful, and the format is clear and interesting.

IV. *English 33C* (upper intermediate)

1. Gorman, Thomas P. and Walsleben, Marjorie. *Advanced Reading and Composition Skills: A Workbook for Students of English as a Second Language or Dialect.* UCLA Pre-publication version, revised 1976.

   This text was developed at UCLA to provide a course in reading skills at the advanced level. Its purpose is to help the ESL student develop different reading strategies: Directed reading (skimming for specific information), Exploratory reading (finding the main idea), and Study reading (in-depth reading for details, concepts and inferences). The unsimplified articles deal with topics of international concern: population, the food supply, health and disease, the races, the earth, the future, etc. Vocabulary lists are provided for each reading passage and there is an answer key for all the reading questions. The suggested composition topics after each lesson are useful for reinforcing the vocabulary and concepts presented in the reading passages.

2. Danielson, Dorothy and Hayden, Rebecca. *Using English, Your Second Language.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1973.

   This grammar text was written for the college-level intermediate or advanced student of ESL. There are nineteen self-contained units on the more troublesome aspects of English grammar: articles, verbs, two-word verbs, conditionals, complements, relative clauses, punctuation, etc. Its explanations and clear examples provide a good companion text for the writing component of English 33C.

3. Yorkey, Richard C. Study Skills for Students of English as a Second Language. New York: McGraw Hill, 1970.

   See above.

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A COMPARISON OF ITEM ANALYSIS PROGRAMS

Earl Rand

Usually a test developer, in building an objective test, tries out more items than he will need in the final form. Then, he utilizes a number of statistical techniques to aid in selecting and revising his items. Many of these techniques, however, involve such extensive data manipulation and so many mathematical calculations that a complete test analysis by hand is impractical. Luckily, a number of computer programs designed to aid the test developer are available at UCLA.

These programs, though similar in their basic purpose, differ in a number of ways. This paper undertakes to compare and contrast test item-analysis and test-analysis programs so that a test developer may judiciously select an appropriate program.

The specific objectives of this study are (1) to provide comparative descriptions of each program and its characteristics and (2) to suggest the appropriate program for a number of basic test development situations.

In order to compare the programs, it would be useful to run the same data in all of them. Because they differ in the type of input they accept, however, this is not entirely possible. All the programs have been run on the UCLA IBM 360/91.

Three areas of program criteria are: (1) run characteristics, (2) limitations, and (3) item-analysis features and options. These are listed in the table.

The Programs: The nine item-analysis programs compared here are:

1. GRADER (Reid)
2. TESTAT-1 (Veldman)
3. TESTAT-2 (Veldman, revised by Rand)
4. TESTAT-3 (Veldman, revised by Rand)
5. TESTVAL, "Test Validity" (Steene and Verhelst)
6. TIA, "Traditional Item Analysis" (Schnittjer)
7. ANALITH, "Analysis of Items and Test Homogeneity" (Schnittjer)
8. BARGMAN (Schnittjer, revised by Rand)
9. MEASET, "Measurement Sets" (McKelvey)

All these, except TIA, BARGMAN, and MEASET, are briefly described in the UCLA CCN Writeup B046, dated 11/01/76. CCN has also implemented another test analysis program called TESTAL.

No single program will do everything for everybody. For new users, GRADER is excellent as it is easy to use and the output includes printed comments on the adequacy of each item. Actually, there are two versions of GRADER, one requiring the input data to be fixed in a (5A4, 60A2) format, with 20 columns for ID and up to 60 for items. For the more experienced user, however, GRADER justs points out the obvious and takes too many pages doing it.

ANALITH is good for the advanced beginner because the output is simple and graphic, and it provides for subscales and validity criteria. Some of the esoteric features of ANALITH have bugs and should be used with caution. TESTVAL, based on Chapter 21 of Gulliksen's Theory of Mental Test, attempts to shorten the test and increase its homogeneity. This is fine if one wants a test that measures one dimension, but, in practice, this is rare.

The three versions of TESTAT include basic statistics plus a number of other features. Versions 2 and 3 calculate z-scores of item easiness for utilization in the Rasch Model. TESTAT-3 computes Ebels' ideal test characteristics. TESTAT-2 computes a correlation matrix of subscales and total scores. All versions provide an option for punched output for further analysis of the test or the examinees.

The version of BARGMAN we received did not run. In the process of implementing it, many features have been deleted. It still provides basic statistics plus correlates each distractor with the total and criterion scores, a feature many test developers utilize.

MEASET, designed and programmed by Professor Bill McKelvey, UCLA GSM, has integrated factor analysis and item analysis. It builds subscales of homogeneous items, then calculates their reliability and intercorrelations. Using MEASET, one can build short, independent, and reliable subscales.

TESTAT, ANALITH, and MEASET are also useful in designing questionnaires.

Information concerning program documentation and source decks for all the programs compared here are available from Jack Ketola and Mark Cirlin, CCN Consultants.

Comparison Table

Criteria	GRADER	TESTAT-1	TESTAT-2	TESTAT-3	TESTVAL	TIA	ANALITH	BARGMAN	MEASET
	COMPUTER PROGRAM								
Run Characteristics		Veldman	June 76	May 77					
Language	Fortran	Fortran	Fortran	Fortran	Fortran	Fortran	Fortran	Fortran	Fortran
Core	300K	60K	300K	200K	200K	60K	200K	100K	250K+
# of Statements	640	180	280	270	430	80			
Easy to use	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
Limitations									
# items	60	150	275	275	150	none	149	200	60-100
# examinees	100	none	275	none	none	none	none	none	none
# response choices	5	9	9	9	9	5	16	8	2
# subtests	0	9	9	9	0	0	19	0	0
Input Features									
Indicate # examinees		yes			yes		yes		yes
Alphabetic data	yes								
Input Format needed	(no)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Output Format	no	no	yes	yes	no			yes	
Title Card	yes	yes	yes	yes				yes	
OUTPUT-Test data									
# examinees	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mean	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Standard error of Mean	yes							yes	
Standard Deviation	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
Skewness and Kurtosis							yes	yes	
Frequencies	yes						yes		
Standard Scores	yes								
Percentiles	yes								
Ideal Mean and SD (Ebel)				yes					
Stand. Error of Measure	yes		yes	yes					
r's of Hypothesized subtests									yes
Punched output		yes	yes	yes					
Test r	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		
Subtest r		yes	yes	yes	yes		yes		
Criterion r					yes		yes	yes	
Validity index					yes				

Criteria	GRADER	TESTAT-1	TESTAT-2	TESTAT-3	TESTVAL	TIA	ANALITH	BARGMAN	MEASET
Item Statistics									
Choice Distribution	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
Sigma		yes	yes	yes					
# omitted	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		yes	yes	
r with total	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
r with subtest		yes	yes	yes			yes		
r with criterion					yes		yes	yes	
r distractions with total								yes	
Mean score of those passing item								yes	
Covariance matrix of items					yes				yes
r matrix of items									yes
Factor analysis of items									yes
Iterations to increase test efficiency					yes				yes
Item characteristic curves							yes		
Punched output of item statistics			yes	yes					
Homogeneity analysis							yes		
Recoded input		yes	yes	yes			yes		
Questionaire analysis		yes	yes	yes			yes		yes
Dichotomized data							yes		yes
IBM 1230 scanner		yes					yes		
r standard deviation				yes					
z-scores of Easiness			yes	yes					
Plot easiness of r			yes	yes	yes				
Plot reliability and validity					yes				

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Stereotypes in Media

or

How to Avoid Functional Fixedness

James Heaton

About a year ago, I saw for the first time a demonstration of the use of a computer to aid in the teaching of English. Print and graphic material was presented to the student via a display panel about a foot square on a terminal device about the size of a large portable T.V. The image, in orange lines against a black background, bore little resemblance to the usual impression of a television picture. Resolution was very fine, so that ordinary book-sized print and punctuation could easily be read from the panel face. The image was bright enough to read under ordinary room illumination and was free of any flicker or visual noise. Each "page" of material was written rapidly across the panel; the cartoon-style illustrations were "drawn" section by section. Once you had responded to a displayed question by typing the answer on a keyboard or by touching the correct point on a displayed picture, new material would be added with a comment ("That's right, Jim! Now try this one..."), or the page erased itself and a new one appeared. The effect was irresistable, and, like Mr. Toad, I was hooked by this new device, which could do everything but cook. Its name was PLATO [1], and even its name was awe-inspiring.

At that time I think I had freed myself from one kind of fixation--that computers are only good for computing--only to fall into another--that quality teaching can somehow be equated with discovering the right gadget and devoting yourself to it. But gagets come in many packages, and perhaps this tendency--which psychologists have labeled "functional fixedness"--is parallel to the tendency that many of us in the teaching profession have of total devotion to a single technique in teaching. Maybe we need gadgets as some sort of catalyst to help us restructure our views of classroom processes, but at present we tend to interact with them in a way which may obscure further applications. Moreover, the use of new techniques may also obscure the fundamental issue of what the students need. And, in particular, what they need from us.

Marshall McLuhan recently observed that the world has become a teaching machine--only no one yet knows what to teach. We now have a worldwide network of television and radio information available to us, and every schoolchild comes equipped with a miniature computer which can be secreted in his desk as easily as a forbidden paperback. We can make color pictures in one minute and video pictures instantly. Whatever we choose to draw or photograph, we can magnify 10,000 times on one wall of a room via a projector, or show "in living color" on a video screen. We can record two hours of high fidelity sound on a cassette smaller than a deck of cards using a machine that fits in a coat pocket. Cable television can provide us with information on the weather, up-to-second stock market reports, news supermarket prices, and showings of recent movies. We are faced with more than everything you ever wanted to know about anything. That's great, but what do we--first as humans and second as language teachers--do about it?

It's easy to ask smug questions about the information explosion and the state of future shock we are all already in. It's more difficult to disentangle ourselves, if only momentarily, from pre-structured perceptions of our various information tools in order to examine whether they are being used as we want them to be. Commercial media are a case in point.

Radio, for example, is music, news, comedy, and maybe a language program or two if you're one of those freaks who tunes to the far left hand side of the F.M. dial late in the morning. But mostly what one encounters is entertainment. At one time--but rarely now, and only on the left side of the dial--there was regularly scheduled serious drama, other spoken literature, lectures, "how to_____" programs, and consumer information. I don't mean to denigrate the fact that radio is the purveyer of good (and bad) music, but, for all its power, radio is now characteristically the "background medium", meant to be listened to with one ear. It's the thing you keep in the garage or in the bedroom with a clock attached to it (which also indicates some lack of self-justification). That's the way things are. You'd never want the damn thing in a classroom since it would be a mere distraction--as it is in the garage.

T.V. is different: you have to watch it. It's the distraction par excellence. Even the "snow" on a T.V. screen is hypnotic. Someone has suggested a harmonic relationship between the video picture scan rate and the frequency of brain waves. Whether this relationship really exists or not is immaterial. No one would deny the metaphoric value of such an assertion when they've seen children in a deep trance over the Saturday morning cartoons. We have already seen television develop for 25 years and now know only too well what a medium looks like when it has reached a conceptual dead-end. Would anybody ever want that in a classroom?

One possibility is that we could take the material which now exists on television and recognize it for what it is. After all, aren't soap operas really some kind of cultural commentary--edited, to be sure, but nonetheless a commentary? And doesn't the evening news tell more about the viewer than the viewed. (Why are we so pre-occupied with up-to-the-minute weather reports? Are audiences that way in Ecuador? In China? In Vietnam?) What about advertisements? What do they really communicate about us? How are such institutional aspects of the medium interpreted by someone outside the realm of the L.A. Xerox machine, assuming that such a place or state of mind does exist?

Modes of utilization based on such ethnographic inquiries might serve to de-fixate ourselves into new aspects of the broadcast medium. Ancillary techniques, making use of videotape recording, would lead to still other aspects. Lotte and Alan Marcus are making and using video materials with migrant farmers in Salinas. The materials consist of recorded and edited segments of soap operas. But, rather than being played back as a representation of the original, the medium is altered via several techniques. First, a selected scene is presented to the class as a series of freeze frames (the effect you get when using the "Pause" function of the VTR) without sound, representing the gestures and facial expressions of crucial moments in the scene. The class uses these data to guess what's going on. The class then views the still frames with the sound associated with those segments of time and considers another layer of meaning:

> What can you tell from his tone of voice? From hers? What are they to each other? What's the problem? [2]

Then the class views the tape with normal action and sound, at which point they are led into discussion of the way people react to one another, by way of soap opera vocabulary:

"startin' to get to you"
"you aren't gonna get anywhere"
"maybe I'm kidding myself"
"crying with every little sob story" [3]

Explanation is done in both Spanish and English, and the students raise their hands to stop the tape and ask questions at any time. In the process, the students are using the soap opera as a medium of breaking open and looking at some of their own problems in the new language/culture. The typical content of soap operas often encompasses the kinds of bureaucratic entanglements that all too often harry the migrant farmers. These problems, which stem only partly from the migrants' lack of facility in the use of English, can at least be identified and worked with via the classroom/video medium and dealt with further in communication exercises and fieldtrips. Perhaps the soap opera isn't always a soap opera.

Other experiments in video indicate further possibilities for a non-stereotyped anti-medium. Mits Kataoka is continuing to supervise experimental program in video communication in the UCLA Art Department. These programs consists of videotape exchanges between individuals in various cultural areas. In the videotapes, people talk about their concerns, problems, and livlihoods using words and pictures of their surroundings, schools, transportation, and themselves. In a very personal way they ask and answer questions of the viewer, who is generally in a contrasting culture, perhaps in another country. The tapes are mailed back and forth, and the equipment is provided by the project or by the school, so that the only expense involved is postage. Participants are now active in several areas in Japan, including Kyoto, exchanging with school students in Irvine. Exchanges also are taking place between different parts of Los Angeles. The medium is portable video recording equipment ("portapak") operated by the communicators, who range from about ten years old up through university age. A good deal of incidental language practice takes place in the Kyoto-Irvine exchange, which happens to be in English, as the individuals feel they have someone interesting to talk to. The main purpose of the exchange, it should be noted, is to provide a means for people to learn about each other, and, in some sense, to use each other as information sources for intimately understanding a different life style. The implications for supplementation of ESL courses here are obvious, but one should also note the possibilities beyond language teaching.

The failure of commercial broadcast media to succeed even in their entertainment objective may serve to motivate the exploration of such alternate forms. We, as educators, might be spurred by experimental applications like these to become the creators of an effective medium rather than its victims.

Of all the media stereotypes, the computer is probably the most maligned. In the first place, it is a machine. Moreover, it is a machine which appears to "think". Finally, it only thinks about numbers, and it does so in an automatic sequence called a program. Even though the computer mimics only a minute portion of human brain processes, and does so very poorly, its very machine-like character seems to some people to constitute a Wellsian threat to traditional classroom processes. Nothing important can be taught (they say) without human intervention, and certainly not by a number-crunching device. Even if language practice could be managed by a computer, such practice would be of such limited scope as to be trivial. Programmed instruction is boring and ineffective and CAI (Computer-Assisted Instruction) is merely another form of programmed learning. It's another expensive toy; it isn't "cost effective". Ironic as it may seem, the "Awful Machine" arguments are very often advanced by those teachers who have been teaching the same thing in the same way for most of their careers.

But there are machines and *machines.*

Others see CAI as a stereotype at the other end of the scale: a learning medium that can do everything and is worth any price. It caters to individual needs by allowing students to branch into the level of difficulty of exercise material that suits them best, with mastery quizzes for each unit. The computer's instant feedback response enables a student to feel reinforced always and to do more with the material than he would otherwise. It can keep files on the progress of all the students, reducing teacher time spent grading exercises. Via easily-learned "authoring languages", it can enable teachers to participate in a direct way with the curriculum development. Finally, (they imply) there is something essentially interesting and motivating about the computer medium which will carry the day, even if the content material is not distinct from the traditional printed textbook.

Some of these negative and positive attitudes toward computerized instruction have been proven true, some have some support in fact, though research data is lacking, and some are still subject to so many conditions and conflicting arguments as to be regarded as mere assertions at this point. The situation, in other words, bears a strong resemblance to that of the language lab a few years back, with all sorts of stereotypes prevailing, depending on the personalities involved with its advocacy.

First of all, we can make a few basic assumptions that are either obvious or have been reasonably well established in practice:

1) The computer is a powerful medium;

2) It is only as flexible, ingenius, and effective as its human programmers have made it;

3) It is really a cluster of media--or a media-handler-for print (hard-copy terminal, teletype), cathode-ray tube (CRT) display, video audio, or slides;

4) It is a wide range of devices, ranging from interactive, desk-top teaching machines to self-standing "mini" computers with built-in terminals, to the much larger IBM 360-type units about the size of two refrigerators;

5) The larger devices are expensive, complex, and not entirely free of maintenance and programming problems. The mini-computers are no more trouble and expense than a video ensemble would be;

6) The skills required for interacting with a programmed computer range from rudimentary reading with touch response to fairly high level reading and typing skills, with the use of some specialized symbols and procedures. Most programs can allow for simple responses not requiring a great deal of keyboard dexterity.

Looking at the negative stereotypes of computer-assisted instruction, in the first place, most computers can deal with textual material in a conventional alphabet as easily as they deal with numbers. You already know this from having read your bank statements, registration forms, etc., which come to you directly from a form of computer print-out. The only difference is that letters require about twice the storage space as numbers. But in machines that can typically store half a million numbers for a single program, the space available is still no problem. Machines can handle words as well as numbers, both in quantity and manipulation.

Generally the textual material used in an instructional program in English is stored and "played back" via the teletype terminal, CRT, or audio device, more or less as a tape recorder would do, but under the control of the automatic sequential program rather than being controlled by someone pusing buttons. A typical exercise might be ten sentences with blanks to fill in. The sentences are presented--printed by the typewriter--one at a time, the machine pauses for the student's reply to be typed in, and the student's answers are evaluated. Generally, unless the material is a test, the computer will immediately tell the student whether the response is correct or not. If it isn't correct, good programs will comment why, differentiating between types of errors: "No, you should have put the past tense, 'waited'. "Are you sure you spelled that right?" "Please check your punctuation." At the end of the exercise, the total score is displayed, and, if more than a threshold number is missed, the student is referred to an additional set of review exercises, possibly including more examples or a review of the rules. Otherwise, the next set of exercises is presented, usually with a somewhat different task, e.g., finding the mistakes in a paragraph and typing in the correct forms. A series of exercises is usually followed by a quiz, passage of which results in successful exit from the program, the quiz score having been recorded in a file for the instructor. A student may generally opt out of the program at other points, if, for some reason, he wants to continue later.

Some programs, such as those written by Ellen Nold at Stanford, are not programs in the conventional sense. That is, the student is given questions designed to provoke longer responses which are only evaluated peripherally. For example, the control program might only look for positive and negative elements. A hypothetical exchange might be:

Computer: Mary, who's sitting next to you?

Mary: I don't know.

Computer: Well, why don't you just describe anyone for me then?

Mary: She's short and fat and she's wearing a wig.

Computer: Give me some more details....

In the first exchange, the computer looks for no(body), I don't ..., etc. If these elements appear, the reply is as indicated. If not, it assumes a name has been given and uses that appropriately in the ensuing exchanges ("Please describe Fred for me"). The last exchange needn't involve any scrutiny of the response by the computer; it is simply a personal-sounding message to evoke responses from the student. In one program, Ellen Nold has the students write a poem about their names, using this technique. This isn't real communication, but how much real communication goes on with a psychoanalyst's "program"? The computer program isn't substituting for a human, but it can certainly effectively simulate human interaction better than the stereotypical machine.[4,5]

Other programs, of a non-linear nature, allow a student to select among a whole set of learning strategies based on the same program. The TICCIT[6] system, originated by Victor Bunderson at Brigham Young University, is a very interesting approach to recognizing individual differences among learners in that it allows the learner to select, for a given instructional module, whether he wants to look at rules, examples, or practice material, or to skip directly to the unit post-test. Of the three types of activities in the unit, the student may select "hard" or "easy" variants. Thus, instead of a series of branches which the student must work through, he is presented with a whole field of alternatives, any or all of which he may skip if he happens to feel prepared to take the final test for that module.

In practice, the human element is quite alive and well in learning centers making use of CAI, both in the programming, which is always an ongoing process of successive test and revision, as in any good instructional program, but in the procedures for utilizing "automated" material. Proctors are available to consult with the students over problems they may have with using the materials. In English courses, weekly writing assignments, checked by proctors and graded by instructors are given. Students with special problems will be given group workshops but still the heaviest instructional load is carried by on-line work with the CAI materials.

Although, due to the nature of the terminals, much CAI work tends to involve reading-writing activity, the TICCIT system just described, the PLATO system, and a new system in use at Stanford have audio presentation capability. Thus, audio lectures with written notes can be given via a CAI terminal, as well as other listening comprehension, spelling lessons, and audio reinforcement (of the "Swell job!" type). At present, several of the systems, including PLATO and TICCIT report reliability problems with delivering randomly accessible audio texts, but these problems are presumably "developmental".

Some of the systems described are expensive. The PLATO terminals, which connect to a remote central computer by telephone line, rent for $1,000 per month each, including the charge for subscribing to the courseware (some 4,000 hours of prepared programs). The TICCIT system in Phoenix, with 128 terminals, costs around $114,000 per year to operate but the price of the terminals, consisting of a small keyboard and a 12" color T.V. set, is only $500.00. Yet many stand-alone computers costing less than $10,000 can do extensive interactive CAI work in language skills, though programs may have to be somewhat shorter than those which can be stored in large devices. Desk top computers can be used for simple presentation and scoring of structured exercises. On campuses with central time-shared computer operation, computer time is often free or very cheap. A typical figure is $5.50 per hour for APL connect time at UCLA, and terminals are frequently shared among departments at a very small rental charge. Computer equipment is one of the few areas where prices of hardware and rentals are actually going down, as can be observed in the spectacular decrease in the price of hand calculators. Last year, a price war among terminal manufacturers brought rental charges of some terminals at UCLA down by about 20%.

And, finally, rather than replacing teachers, a CAI system typically makes teacher time much more valuable by taking over many of the iterative "textbook" tasks of presenting and grading practice material. It allows more teacher time for dealing with individual problems and the major questions of developing a sophisticated writing style.

As with the language lab, some caveats are in order to counter the other extreme of stereotyping, where CAI is seen as the greatest thing since the Wright brothers. Clearly it isn't, or CAI would be in more widespread use. For instance, not one CAI instructional program is in current use at UCLA. The utilization of CAI on other campuses is often accounted for by a history of grantsmanship rather than a general concern for instructional quality. In fact, the financial burden of mounting an extensive CAI system becomes such a dominant issue that the details of intergrating it into a program with adequate space and development and support personnel tend to be subordinated. In the rush of Big System euphoria, moderate-priced alternatives and low-priced mixed media tend to be overlooked. This is known as the All or Nothing stereotype.

Finally, there are the problems of reinforcement, motivation, and quality of programming in computer-assisted instruction, none of which is intrinsic to the use of the computer and all of which depend on the quality of the human programmer. Many learning centers, including one using the TICCIT system described above, report problems with students falling behind in their progress through the supposedly self-motivating modules. This "procrastination" phenomenon seems to plague many types of individualized systems and bears no relation to the amount of sophistication of hardware being used. Programs reporting the highest proportion of students passing ("exiting") a course within the alloted time span of one quarter or one semester are those which rely on tutors or proctors to facilitate the students' progress through an individualized course. Comparisons with standard expectations are difficult, however, since, while the program in general has to show its effectiveness by granting pass credit to students, the individualized approach claims mastery as the prime exit criterion, leaving time and method of learning as variables. Students must pass modular post-tests at a very high criterion level, typically 85% or better, before they can go on to the next module. They are generally allowed to repeat tests, but only after having gone through the material again, if they fail to achieve pass level the first time. Passage of the tests for all required modules then constitutes passage of the course. As this process may take longer for some learners, carryovers from one term to the next are not uncommon, and generally some sort of incentive in the form of bonus points or counseling is offered to those observed to be making slow progress midway in the course.

Much observational evidence [7,8] seems to indicate that students adapt rather well to CAI. Many of the motivation problems encountered in the use of programmed devices in general are attributable to different styles of learning, and allowing for different learning strategies within a system such as TICCIT may not be a sufficient accomodation. It may be necessary to change the system, to allow the alternative of a lecture/textbook approach to the same topic, as an equivalent credit track. Students would then be able to select themselves into the type of classroom which they felt they could best succeed in, whether it required internal or external motivation.

Other media for simulating a tutoring situation exist and are in much wider use than CAI. Recent materials in audiocassette format show great promise in making a really appropriate use of the medium in teaching English composition. Instead of offering actual interaction with the students, the tutorial cassette simulates such interaction. The following example, from a module on sentence fragments, published by Educulture, follows an explanation of the objectives of the lesson:

> "Lets see if you can find these fragments. Turn to the first exercise in your manual. Got it? Good. When the tone sounds, stop your cassette player, read the directions for the first excercise carefully and then complete it... You're in control of this lesson. You can stop your player and listen to the lesson again as often as you want, and anytime you want...Take your time..."
>
> "Ready to check answers? Good. Number One is a fragment...
>
> ...
>
> If your score is eleven or twelve, you've done quite well. if, however, your score is ten or less, you'll want to turn to the Back Up section at the end of your manual to see how these word groups would appear as correctly written sentences..." [9]

A somewhat fixated teacher might apply the labels of "patronizing", "Skinnerian", or "childish" to the tone of this set of instructions, but many students in a typical basic writing program would prefer this kind of programming to the monotonous and machinelike instructions on most language lab tapes. Here the reinforcement is given consistently, the instructions are clear, while the voices and content are varied for each lesson.

Most responses in the Educulture English series are objective and are written by the student in the workbook. Some responses involve the construction of sentences or sequences of sentences for which alternative answers are given, either on tape or in the answer section at the back of the workbook. More general, uncontrolled responses are elicited for the modules on paragraph structure, where the tone begins to resemble that of Ellen Nold's "creative writing" CAI programs. The audiocassette, too, can be an encouraging facilitator, rather than an adversary.

The question might well arise, why simulate a teacher at all? Why bother to expend the money and time necessary to acquire and organize a library of audiocassettes and other media? Several basic arguments seem to justify the inclusion of self-study modules in anything as complex as a language-teaching program:

1) Time. Based on the premise that the time available for learning a language is limited, a great deal more teacher time can be made available for diagnosing and working with individual and refractory class problems if students can be referred to self-teaching modules for additional work on set, "textbook" parts of the syllabus, such as mechanics, spelling, and many aspects of sentence structure. Related to this is the fact that, although almost all learners can successfully master basic language skills, some take longer than others. Self-study modules allow for this.

2) Depth. With individual modules for specific teaching points, it is possible to expose a learner to a more detailed treatment of that problem than is ever possible with the time and text resources available in a conventional class.

3) Scope. More problems can be treated, since one has not only a class text (formally or informally), but a whole library of high quality, tested subject modules. A class text approach assumes the whole class needs the whole treatment. A modular library allows learners to be treated realistically--as individuals who possess unique sets of learning problems, strategies, attitudes, and assumptions about what they're in the class to accomplish.

As well as taking part in the autotutorial function, cassettes can also perform a valuable media task in providing ESL students with information input on the local culture, much as is done with videotape. Many areas of vérité have not yet been touched, partly, I think, because of the hegemony of the language lab production stereotype. It insisted on ideal, uncluttered utterances and failed to distinguish between the kinds of variants and background presence which might add meaningful context to the audio impression rather than distracting from it.

Much more is being done these days by teachers who are also interested in breaking down the functional fixations which keep us from making the best use of the tools we've got. Whether the tools are cassette machines or IBM 360s, the human element is always crucial and the creative idea is a priceless commodity.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] "Programmed Logic for Automatic Teaching Operation".

[2] Lotte Marcus, "Instructions for Soap Opera I", (unpub. handout), Salinas, Calif.: English on Wheels, 1977

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ellen W. Nold, "Fear and Trembling: The Humanist Approaches the Computer", National Council of Teachers of English, 1975.

[5] Carl Sagan, "In Praise of Robots", Natural History, 1975, 84, 8-10.

[6] "Timeshared Interactive Computer Controlled Information Television", pronounced "ticket".

[7] Anna Marie Thames, "Computer Assisted Instruction--The Problems and Possibilities", Golden West College, Huntington Beach, Calif., 1971.

[8] Fred Morrison, "The TICCIT Experience at Phoenix College" (unpub. report), 1976.

[9] Gene Kersteins, "Major Sentence Errors" (Lesson 1), English Modular Mini-Course, Santa Monica: Educulture, Inc., 1976.

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THE SEARCH FOR A SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION INDEX OF DEVELOPMENT

Diane Larsen-Freeman and Virginia Strom*

Researchers in the field of second language acquisition have long operated under the handicap of not having a reliable, expedient way of measuring the second language proficiency of their subjects. While it is true that standardized proficiency tests do exist, a single test is not adequate to assess the second language proficiency for learners of different ages and for different target languages. Furthermore, standardized tests are costly to administer and time-consuming for both administrators and subjects. As a result, when researchers report the proficiency level of the subjects they are studying, they employ very subjective descriptors, usually labeling a given population as being beginning, intermediate or advanced with respect to the target language. Such a characterization is much too vague and relative to convey to others the level of proficiency of a particular group of learners.

It is imperative to explicitly identify the proficiency of a subject population since there has been ample evidence (Larsen-Freeman, 1975, 1976; Taylor, 1975) to demonstrate that the acquisition strategies of the learner, or at least their influence on the learning process, change as the learner's proficiency in the target language increases. Although this claim has been generally accepted, we still argue amongst ourselves about the degree of influence of a certain strategy, failing to acknowledge that differences in L2 proficiency will affect the impact of the strategy.

There has been much controversy, for example, over the percentage of errors a learner commits in his L2 performance which can be directly attributed to the strategy of language transfer from the native language. Dulay and Burt (1973) reported that only 3% of the syntactic errors committed by their subjects could unambiguously be traced to interference from Spanish, the native language of their subjects. This finding was immediately challenged by researchers who charged that such a small percentage was too conservative an estimate of the influence of a native language on L2 acquisition.

It seems to us that both sides could be right since it is entirely possible that the subjects Dulay and Burt were reporting on were at a higher English proficiency level than those of the other researchers. Taylor has shown that the higher the proficiency level of L2 learners, the less their reliance on the language transfer strategy.

Thus, we believe when making any claims about the second language process, researchers must be able to unequivocally identify the second language proficiency of their subjects. To enable researchers to do just this, we have been working since September to construct a second language acquisition index of development by which the proficiency of an L2 learner in the target language could be gauged. The remainder of this workpaper will be a report on our progress thus far.

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*Our thanks to Nan Wonderly and Earl Rand for their help with this project.
A revised version of this paper will appear in Language Learning, 27, 1, June 1977.

Procedures

We have chosen to examine the acquisition of English as a second language, but it was our hope that we might find some measure of language proficiency that could be applied universally. We started initially with written compositions, because they were accessible and written data seemed easier to work with than spoken. However if we are successful in this area, we would eventually like to expand our efforts and attempt to characterize stages of development in communicative speech.

Compositions written by forty-eight non-native speakers of English were examined. The authors were undergraduate and graduate students at UCLA. There were 28 males and 20 females in our sample. The compositions were written for the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination. Our only criterion for choosing these particular compositions was that there would be no more than two written by speakers of the same native language. We wanted a diversity of language backgrounds in order to allow us to construct a global index of development. The compositions were written under examination conditions. The time spent on writing them was not restricted by the examination itself, although a minimum length was assigned in each case.

On an impressionistic basis two researchers independently assigned each composition to one of five levels of proficiency: poor, fair, average, good, excellent. The inter-researcher reliability was found to be statistically significant (r=.9713). Because the agreement between researchers was so high we felt justified in taking the next step--to try and identify the features that made each group of compositions unique.

Thus, the compositions were analyzed in order to identify features that made each level distinct from the others. Features of each composition were considered--both those that resulted in lack of grammaticality (i.e., errors) and those that made the composition appear more native-like. One set of features considered was writing mechanics. Punctuation, capitalization, and spelling were included in this category. Organization, clarity and syntactic sophistication were also assessed. For example, one of our subjects wrote a composition containing a sentence which read: "I was suprised by the openness with which he described himself." We recorded sentences of this caliber [+ syntactic sophistication] each time they were encountered. Lexical choice was another characteristic considered. One of our subjects wrote: "The employers wanted to press down the wages." What he probably meant to say was "hold down." Such instances were recorded as [- lexical choice].

We scrutinized each composition for the author's ability to write grammatically. More specifically we looked at morphology, syntax, prepositions, tenses, aspect, articles, subject/verb agreement, case, and negation. Sentence construction violations such as fragments and run-ons were noted. The content of the composition was also evaluated as to relevance to the topic, degree of interest, and sophistication of treatment. Although we were able to isolate features and errors which made the composition more or less native-like, we realized an index of development based solely on these would have certain drawbacks.

First: How would errors or positive features such as those just listed be weighted? Would omission of an article from an obligatory context, for example, be considered more serious than the use of an inappropriate lexical item? Being forced to make somewhat arbitrary decisions such as these disturbed us.

Secondly: If we were to establish an index of development based on the decreasing number of errors committed with regards to one or any group of linguistic structures, we would have to assume linear development in language acquisition. Errors in articles, for example, would have to decrease regularly as proficiency in English increased. Henning (1975), Hakuta (1975) and other researchers have shown this is not the case in the acquisition of grammatical structures. If one were to plot the acquisition of a structure by an individual learner over time, one would note that the line is full of peaks and valleys. Our data, too, provide evidence that learning does not progress linearly. For example, we discovered the subjects writing compositions we had evaluated as "poor" committed fewer errors in article usage than those subjects who wrote compositions we had evaluated as "fair." It was only at the level of compositions determined to be "good" and "excellent" that the number of errors in article usage declined to the level they were at for the writers of the "poor" compositions. If we used errors in article usage alone as our index of development, we would have no way of discriminating between the "poor" and "good" levels of writing.

Neuman (1977), too, encountered this problem when she attempted to characterize the problems of learners studying English as a second language at the intermediate level at UCLA. After a thorough error analysis of compositions, she concluded errors cannot be used to distinguish the intermediate level from the beginning and advanced levels. The only area that distinguished among the groups was problems with word order. However, even this would not serve as a basis for an index of development since although the greatest number of errors were made by the beginning learners, the advanced learners made somewhat more errors than those at the intermediate level.

Third: If we based our index on the absence of commission of errors in particular structures, we might very well be discriminating against one particular native language group who might experience more interference with that structure than other language groups.

Thus, in an attempt to find something which could be used as an index of development which would be exempt from these constraints, we turned to more objective features--measures of length. The number of words and the number of sentences were counted in each subject's composition. We also counted the total number of T-units per composition. A T-unit is a "minimal terminable unit, ...minimal as to length, and each... grammatically capable of being terminated with a captial letter and a period." (Kellogg W. Hunt, Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels, 1965) Within a single sentence, therefore, more than one T-unit may occur. For example, a sentence such as the following would contain two T-units: "I first met this very special man when I was only about a year old, and my earliest memories of him are vague."

Next, we determined the average word length per T-unit per subject. The reason the length of T-units was thought to be important was Hunt's finding that as children learning English as their first language mature, they tend in their writing to reduce main clauses to structures such as words and phrases which are incorporated within other main clauses. This tendency, Hunt reports, increases almost in a straight line. That is, the number of sentences they write diminishes, but the length of the T-units increases due to embedding and other processes which demote main clauses to a subordinate status.

The number of error-free T-units was counted as well. We were prompted to do this after recalling a study conducted by Scott and Tucker (1974). They considered the number of error-free T-units along with many other factors in their error analysis of compositions written by Arab students learning English as a second language. Although Scott and Tucker judged a T-unit to be error-free if correct in all syntax and function words, we only counted it error-free if the T-unit was perfect in all respects, including spelling and punctuation.

We had not thought it necessary up to this point to be concerned about the differing lengths of the compositions. But with the number of error-free T-units, we thought it important to control for length. Thus, we did our analysis on only thirty-seven of the forty-eight compositions--only those whose authors were instructed to write 200 words.

We created charts for each proficiency level displaying the errors and features of each of the five groups. A one-way analysis of variance was used to test for significant differences between groups for the average number of words per T-unit per subject. A one-way analysis of variance was also computed for the number of error-free T-units among the 37 subjects instructed to write 200-word compositions.

Results

From the first part of our study, the analysis of errors and positive features, it is difficult to draw conclusions. We recorded every conceivable error and every positive feature, but since the number of obligatory contexts for each of these varied with each subject, obviously the number of errors in each category would fluctuate from subject to subject.

Nevertheless, from a preliminary inspection, we were able to discern some trends among all the things we investigated. There was nothing startling. Spelling improved as proficiency increased. The number of errors went down considerably, even while lexical choice improved (that is, subjects were using more sophisticated, less common words and spelling them correctly). Learners are acquiring a system as opposed to learning to spell individual items.

Syntactic sophistication improved--from a basic NP + VP pattern at the poor level to sentences with multiple embeddings of relative clauses, gerunds, infinitives, etc. at the excellent level. Tense usage (i.e., appropriateness in form and function) improved as proficiency increased. Errors in morphology decreased slightly from those compositions judged to be "fair" to those evaluated as "excellent." Prepositions were a consistent problem throughout all five levels. There was no noticeable difference in the commission of errors among the five levels.

As we reported earlier, there was an interesting trend with errors in articles. The "poor" compositions had a certain number of errors; the "fair" ones had more errors than the "poor" but then the number of errors decreased again, i.e., there was no uniform linear progression.

Obviously, we will have to examine the errors and positive features more thoroughly--but for now, let us turn to the results of the quantitative analysis.

1. Average number of words per composition

n = 48

Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Excellent
n = 11	n = 12	n = 6	n = 14	n = 5
132.53	150.55	177.33	218.91	228.00

This is an interesting finding in and of itself. The subjects were not constrained in time and yet there is a noticeable correlation between the number of words and our evaluation of their proficiency.

Neuman (1976) found this, too. Her beginning subjects wrote an average of 129.85 words per composition, her intermediate subjects wrote 214.75, and her advanced subjects 286.75 (n = 20).

Maybe the sheer length of a composition is distinctive. The longer length might be attributed to a better command of syntax or vocabulary by a subject or simply that the subjects with greater confidence in their English ability are willing to be more expressive and take greater risks of committing errors.

2. Average number of words per T-unit

n = 48

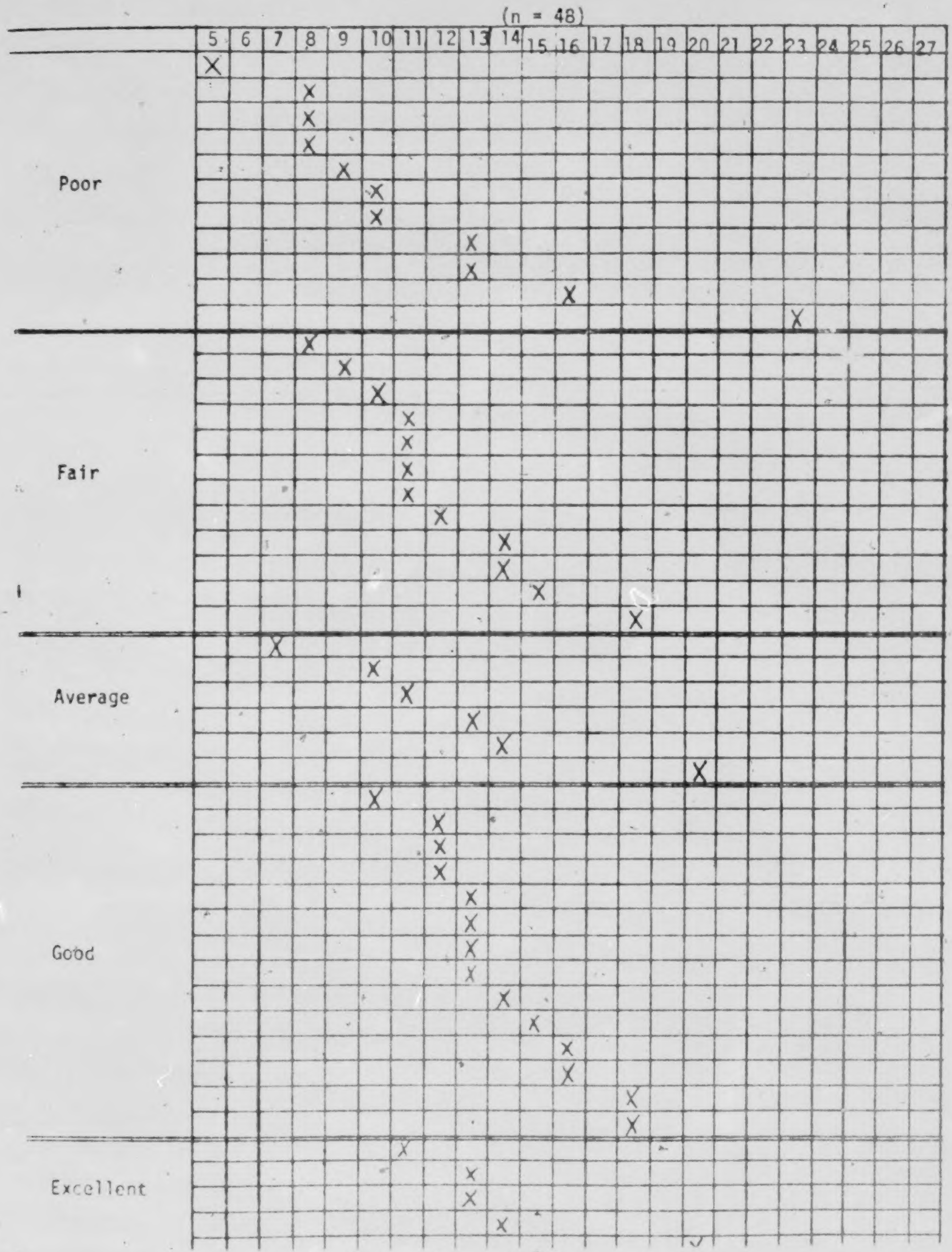
Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Excellent
n = 11	n = 12	n = 6	n = 14	n = 5
mean = 11.58	mean = 12.50	mean = 12.92	mean = 14.28	mean = 14.46
SD = 4.90	SD = 2.82	SD = 4.22	SD = 2.15	SD = 3.37

The one-way analysis of variance revealed the probability the F-value was exceeded as .32. The results were not significant--the groups were not statistically different from one another However, Figure 1 shows that the mean length of T-units does seem to increase fairly steadily, although it is statistically insignificant.

If the extremes were eliminated from our sample, the means would probably be adjusted downward. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the fairly obvious modes for the "poor" (mode = 8), "fair" (mode = 11), and "good" (mode = 13) compositions do increase regularly in the desired direction. Perhaps with a larger sample, this pattern would be more impressive.

Figure 1
Average Number of Words Per T-Unit

(n = 48)



The big factor affecting significance in T-unit length was probably the size of the standard deviations. When the compositions were considered for the average number of words per T-unit, there were a few compositions that deviated from the pattern for each level. That is, there were two "poor" compositions with a large number of average words per T-unit and others that were "good" or "excellent" with a small number of words per T-unit. Some of the variance is no doubt due to the fact that it was difficult to identify T-units in some of the "poor" compositions because of their ungrammaticality. For example, when subjects attempted to use relative clauses without having mastered how to do so, it was difficult to determine where one T-unit stopped and another began. This might artificially inflate the T-unit length and would account for a low rating with a large number of words per T-unit.

A couple of "excellent" compositions contain short T-units. One of these has excellent grammar and spelling but not as much conjoining or relativizing as there could be. The other uses a great deal of dialogue, which makes the composition very interesting but does not allow for long T-units.

3. Average number of error-free T-units (200-word assignment)

n = 37

Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Excellent
n = 9	n = 9	n = 3	n = 12	n = 4
mean = 3.5	mean = 11.7	mean = 17.2	mean = 25.5	mean = 28.5
SD = 3.1	SD = 5.1	SD = 9.7	SD = 7.5	SD = 4.9

The one-way analysis of variance revealed that the probability of the F-value being exceeded was .000--highly significant--among the 37 writers who had received identical instructions, i.e., to write 200-word compositions.

An approximation of the straight line progression we sought can perhaps be appreciated best from the next chart (see figure 2). We notice there is still a good deal of variance but there is also an unmistakeable trend toward a greater number of error-free T-units as proficiency level increases.

Conclusions

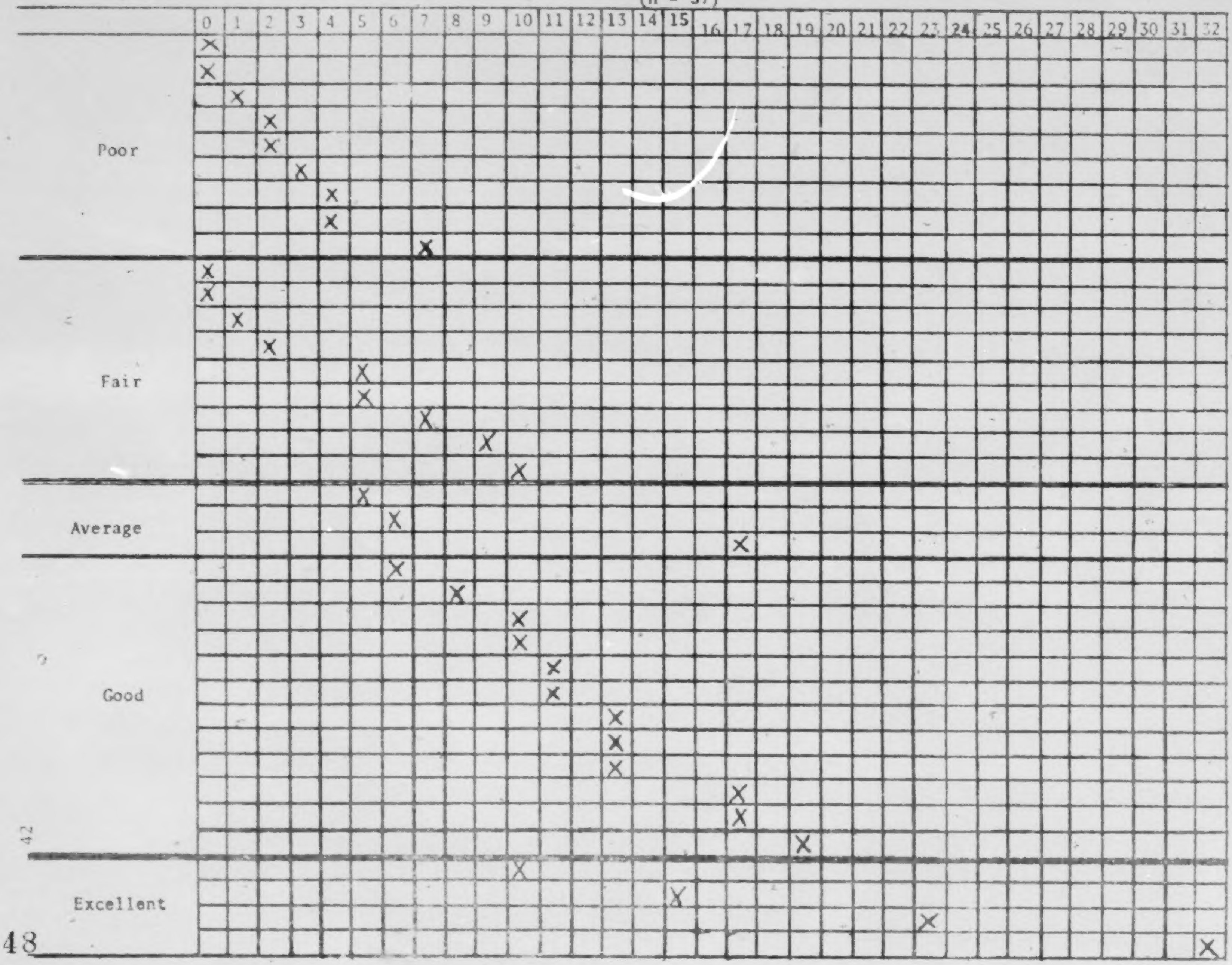
While our findings to date are inconclusive, they are encouraging. Measures of length and the number of error-free T-units per composition might serve as a basis for an index of development since they are quantifiable, linear progression does seem possible and they would appear to be impervious to differences in language backgrounds.

Our next major phase will involve assessing the power of these measures. We will see if we can prescribe the proper level of English instruction for approximately 200 foreign students who will be newly enrolled at UCLA in the Spring Quarter. If this can be successfully accomplished, we will next turn our efforts to establishing an index of development for communicative speech.

From the 200+ students enrolled in our Spring quarter service courses, we will randomly select a group with which we will meet individually and engage

Figure 2

Total Number of Error-Free T-Units
(200-word assignment)
(n = 37)



in conversation. Transcripts of five minutes of the conversation will be made after each session and we will proceed with our analysis following a procedure similar to the one we employed for written compositions.

With an index of development based on one, both or a combination of features from written compositions and communicative speech, we will hopefully produce an index which would fill a need the field of second language acquisition has long had.

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OPTIMAL AGE OR OPTIMAL LEARNERS?

Evelyn Hatch

When I learned that I would be spending next year in Cairo, my first reaction was delight at being able to return to a place that I like very much. My second was that I must get busy learning/relearning as much Arabic as possible. But final exams, final papers, and last minute plans for a between-quarter visit to Ain Shams University got in my way. I haven't started yet. Since then, remembrances of times past have dampened my enthusiasm. While I was still struggling with rudimentary '9ala yimiinak' and '9ala šimaalak' with the taxi driver, my daughter had already become a fluent speaker of French with her best friend, and my son had picked up all the street Arabic that you might guess would interest a junior high boy. It must be the 'optimal age', I thought. And, after all, I'm fourteen years older this time. So no one could blame me (only my age) if I didn't succeed this time.

But being somewhat interested in the difference between myth and data-based claims, I thought it might be worthwhile to review the major explanations given as to why adults appear to be less successful learners than children. Four major explanations have been proposed: physiological, cognitive, social/psychological, and the demands of adult vs. child discourse.

Physiological. The physiological argument is that as we mature, changes take place in brain organization. These changes work to our benefit in most areas but not in language learning. The optimal age hypothesis has been closely connected to the notion of lateralization of language function. As you know, the left hemisphere appears to be the hemisphere which deals with the syntactic organization of language and speech production. Penfield suggested that initially, while the brain is still fairly plastic, the child "can learn two or three languages as easily as one", but that "the human brain becomes progressively stiff and rigid after the age of nine" (Penfield & Roberts, 1959, 236). The notion is, then, that early in our development, language function is not highly localised; both hemispheres of the brain might be able to process and produce language. These claims are based, at least in part, on data from case histories of aphasia. These studies purported to show that the child who suffered left hemisphere damage could learn language anew. The assumption was that the right hemisphere or another area of the left hemisphere had taken over language functions. Penfield suggested that with adolescents and adults, such recovery was impossible once speech function had become localized. Once lateralization occurred, language became a left hemisphere function. The brain was no longer plastic enough or maleable enough to allow other areas of the brain to take over. Lenneberg supported this notion, claiming that the earlier the lesion was incurred, the brighter the outlook for recovery, "hence we infer that language learning can take place...only between the age of two to about thirteen" (Lenneberg, 1967, 153).

Krashen, using data from these early studies and carefully examining each case, found that, based on their data, lateralization would have to be placed at five years, not at adolescence as Penfield and Lenneberg had suggested. Physiologists have pointed out that the hemispheres are quite asymetric even pre-natally; it is thought that the hemispheres may be quite different even at birth. The data, then, suggest that the point at which lateralization begins, develops or ends may not be the key. Rather, there may be other undiscovered physiological differences over age which might affect language learning. The concentric circle notion is an interesting one. There are neurologists who believe that Broca's area begins as a fairly large area near the motor strip and gradually becomes more and more defined; they believe that Wernicke's area, too, begins as a fairly large processing area near the auditory input which gradually becomes more and more defined; and they believe the same for the visual processing areas. Perhaps as redundancy is reduced, these areas become smaller and smaller (concentric circles) and the brain is not as flexible as it once was in dealing with language data. Logically, however, there is nothing certain about this. There is no reason why large areas should be better at dealing with new data than areas which appear to be highly efficient in dealing with language.

By concentrating on lateralization and localization, we have also overlooked the substantial contribution of the other hemisphere to language learning. For example, Zaidel and others have called our attention to the fact that the right hemisphere is involved with language. Right hemisphere recognition of vocabulary is important as are the chunk-learned items (the pledge of allegiance, song lyrics, swear words and other 'automatic' speech) which also appear to be right hemisphere.

During my short visit back to Cairo, I was amazed at how many items which I believe were chunk-learned (e.g., greetings, '9ana mish arfa' [=I don't know]) came back to me for use in appropriate contexts. All teachers know that adults have, at the very least, a good ability to learn lots of vocabulary. They also have the ability to learn lots of chunk-like utterances which they hear frequently. In fact, these chunk utterances, songs, and poems may be perfectly articulated while the rest of the learner's speech may be almost unintelligible. Many students can memorize whole dialogues beautifully as units but find themselves incapable of varying any of these chunks in regular conversation. Much of the adult learner's speech may then be right hemisphere, chunk-learned utterances.

Such chunk learning, however, is not the exclusive possession of adults. Huang's data on a five-year-old learner shows a large number of such utterances in the early part of the study. These chunks (e.g., "It's time to eat and drink" said at snack time at the nursery school; "All the birds up in the tree now that spring is coming..." sung without any comprehension of text meaning; "Are you ready?" used in appropriate contexts; "See you tomorrow" on leaving school; "You shut up." said on the playground.) are not analyzed language. The chunk-learned utterances go side by side with the child's own original utterances which are similar in most ways to those of a child learning English as a first language (e.g., "This kite" "Two cat." "No ice cream." "This not box.").

Hakuta has shown similar examples of chunk-learned utterances (which he calls 'prefabs') in the speech of his five-year-old Japanese subject, Uguisu. These prefabs soon begin to combine with the learner's own rule-formed utterances (e.g. at the third month of acquisition: I know how to do it. I know how to do read it this. I know how to read it this. I know how to make. I know how to draw it cat. I know how to draw butterfly. I know how to draw it boy.). These units remain as units for a long period of time before they, too, are broken down into syntactically analyzed language.

The data, then, suggest that for the second language learner, whether child or adult, much of the new language is learned in 'chunks' (Lily Fillmore in her recent dissertation calls these 'formula utterances'). Whether or not these are right-hemisphere governed, they must eventually work into syntactically organized speech. We may want to claim that adults use first language syntactic organization from their 'stiff and rigid' left hemispheres plus vocabulary and chunk learning from the right hemisphere while the child is still flexible enough to acquire the new language syntactically in a more flexible left hemisphere. But, since the data from adult and child learners shows both use chunk learning and both may (or may not) develop similar early syntactic structures, strong claims seem a bit dangerous considering our rudimentary understanding of brain function.

Cognitive. Rosansky (1976) and Krashen (1976) have cited cognitive change as another factor which might account for the difference in child and adult success in second language learning. They suggest that at the point when the learner is able to perform Formal Operational thought, the learner is able to view language as an abstract entity apart from himself. Krashen has suggested that while our ability to acquire languages 'naturally' (without instruction) may decline with age, we can boost our language ability via a learning process once we have passed through Piaget's Formal Operational cognitive stage. Language can then be discussed in the classroom meaningfully and language can be formally taught. The adult learner is known for his interest in learning the rules of grammar. Teacher-trainees are anxious to have the 'rules' to give to their adult learners because they, too, see that it is important to approach language learning for adults with a more 'cognitive' methodology.

The cognitive explanation, however, also has problems when we try to make it account for child vs. adult differences in second language learning. Supposedly many adults never go through this developmental cognitive change and the age range during which the change takes place appears to differ from individual to individual. It may not occur at puberty (and thus explain the optimal age) but at some time after age ten, age 35, or never.

Secondly, if formal operational thought means the ability to view language as language--that is, to have metalinguistic awareness, then how do we account for data from very young language learners which shows this ability? Here are a few examples from Ronjat's child, Louie (French and German bilingual) giving rules for French:

> Je plie ma langue pour *a*, on ouvre tout; pour *m*, tout est ferme, et pour *p*, d'abord ferme, puis ouvert. (58 months)

and, at 3;4 giving a (wrong) rule for an irregular plural:

> On dit chevaux quand il y en un; cheval quand il y en a beaucoup.

Leopold's Hildegard, at 4;2, gives a correct rule:

> If there is one, you have to say 'Schuh'; if there are two you have to say 'Schuhe.'

Eva, the Kenyeres' seven-year-old, continually searched for rules for gender in learning French as a second language. When none were obvious, she made up rules: "La chaise, la table...non, le table, parce que c'est le papa" "La chaise c'est la petite fille." "La fleur, le jardin--non, la jardin, parce que c'est la mere des fleurs." When natural gender rules did not work out, and when her designating everything liked as feminine also failed, she created a phonological rule: "Elle essaye d'etablir un troisieme point de vue de clasement, en voulant se regler sur l'euphonie. Elle n'aime pas les deux *a* qui se suivant dans l*a* d*a*me et les trois *oe* dans le Monsieur."

More recently, Plann (1976) has investigated the ability of Anglo children receiving their education in Spanish to comment on the rules of their new language. She found that some rules were known and easily given by the children (4th and 5th graders), e.g., rules for plurality, the rule for forming *del*. Other cases appeared to be difficult for them to verbalize in terms of rules: they resorted to 'it sounds better' statements for such things as the subjunctive.

We would hope, then, in looking at adult comments on their second languages that differences would emerge. However, the data from Robbins (1976) and from Stafford and Covitt (1976) show very strong similarities to the responses of the children in Plann's study. Some learners appear to feel rules are important; others feel that 'total immersion' is the best way to learn a language. When asked about composition errors, a procedure similar to that used by Plann with child learners, the same student may give rules for some parts of the language and use 'feel/sounds better' for others. Like the children, they test out how things sound, and use the rules that they do know when asked to. They also (like the children) make up rules which may or may not be accurate (an example from Stafford and Covitt has one adult learner talking about 'dead objects' as part of one rule). Others profess a faith in rules yet add that they listen to the teacher talking about present perfect, having no idea what present perfect means, but with faith that when they have to use the present perfect they will be able to do so accurately.

It appears, then, that if cognitive change relates primarily to metalinguistic awareness as a new way that the adult may approach second language learning which differs radically from the approach a child might use, we are again in trouble. Yet we may believe this is true in a less radical way. Again, the explanation may be better applied to a continuum for all learners rather than an either/or matter dependent on age.

Social and psychological distance. Schumann has proposed two factors which might account for differences in language learner success: social and psychological distance. These factors have since been proposed as ways of accounting for the difference in child and adult success in language learning.

Psychological factors can cover many different things. One is that the adult learning a new language feels he is no longer treated as an intelligent adult. He is a child or, worse, an idiot for he is unable to express himself or his ideas in the new language. Others do not recognize him as the competent, esteemed person he is accepted as being in his own language group. Not only is his picture of himself put in doubt, but he is not sure that anything he says is really what he meant to say. He is conscious of the literal interpretation of things he says and feels that native speakers of the language must be hearing these meanings too. For example, when he says 'goodbye' is he really asking God to give the listener peace? English-language learners, in turn, wonder whether 'How's it going?' is just a simple greeting or whether we actually have some 'it' and some verb of motion in mind when we say it. A personal example is a remark a foreign student made to me. The student insisted on calling me 'teacher' and I assumed it was for the usual reason that 'teacher' is the appropriate marker of respect due a teacher. However, after everyone else had finally come around to calling me by name, he could not. Finally he said he could never call me Evelyn since that was disrespectful but would call me Mrs. Evelyn but not Mrs. Hatch because he was afraid that I would be offended by all the eggs.

I do not recall being troubled by literal or non-literal interpretations of the Arabic I learned. I do know that I frequently felt embarrassed, but I was embarrassed at how poorly I spoke the language. I felt stupid. I often felt that I could not truly express what I meant and it is quite likely that what I said meant something else entirely. Steyn (1972) and others have written about the feelings of disassociation with reality that many adults feel in using a new language, followed by withdrawal, paranoia, and in extreme cases, suicidal tendencies. But for most adults, a minimum of self-consciousness and embarrassment and a feeling of not being recognized as the person one believes oneself to be is symptomatic in early attempts at using the new language.

Sociological distance is another important factor discussed by Schumann. He suggests that if there is little contact with the new langauge group, the opportunities for effective learning will remain minimal. Social distance can come from living in an American community overseas or living in a barrio in the States. Either or both sides may wish to remain separate from the other language group. The American group overseas may fund its own school, have its own social organizations, celebrate its own holidays. It may, in fact, be a completely isolated living experience. On the other hand, it may be quite otherwise for some individuals and some groups. The group may be highly integrative, giving up some and retaining other parts of its social and cultural patterns in that integration. Schumann proposed that the less sociological distance, the better the chance for second language learning to take place.

The problem, again, comes in trying to apply these factors in explaining the optimal age for second language learning. In fact, the factors appear to be important in child second language learning as well. The child going to an American school overseas, makes friends with other American children. He is as isolated as the adult in terms of social distance. If he lives in a barrio, he is as socially isolated as are the adults.

The diary studies of child second language acquisition are also full of evidence that second language learning is not always a painless experience for the child in psychological terms. The child may cry, hide under tables, or run out of the room in an attempt to avoid the second langauge learning experience. On learning the second language, he may try to avoid the first, crying and complaining that he no longer remembers it. He frequently feels that other children don't like him; he thinks the other children at school are nasty. But after a period of initial rejection and some success in the new language, these feelings are gradually diminished. The child, in short, is much less successful in avoiding the langauge learning task than is the adult. He has less choice once adults have made the decision. He has been physically put in contact with the new language group and has little opportunity to escape. Adults somehow manage to control their environment in order to get out of such situations if at all possible.

On reflection, it appears that social and psychological factors are extremely important in explaining differences among language learners and among groups of language learners. They can tell us much about what is a good language learning environment and what is not; they can tell us much about which psychological traits are important or unimportant for good language learning. But I do not believe that they are overriding factors in explaining the differences between adult and child learners.

Conversational Constraints. Input has come to be recognized as an important factor in explaining the language production of the learner. It has been hypothesized that the input to the adult is much more complex than that to the child. Language directed at the child learner appears to follow the here/now principle. That is, in speaking to the child learner, the adult follows two conversational rules. He must make relevant responses to the topics the child nominates and he must also observe the constraint of taking into account the learner's prior knowledge about the topic and his knowledge of the world in general. A look at one exchange may make this point clear. Paul, Huang's subject, is looking at a fish tank. He turns to the observer and says:

Paul: fish
see?
O: What?
Paul: window (looking at tank)
O: Where's the window?
Paul: window
this
O: Another window. Show me.
Paul: (echo) another window
O: Hmm. Is this a window here?
Paul: yah
window fish
not window car

Paul nominates fish and window as topics. There are not many relevant replies that the observer can make to such topics. When fish is nominated, one can ask about attributes of the fish (what color/how many/how big), its location, and its activities (what doing/can it swim), etc., but there is not much included in the etc. In response to window the observer can try to correct the lexical item or to get a clarification of the topic. The input is therefore simplified in terms of simple WH-questions asking about identification, ownership, location, attributes and on-going actions. Given the child's background understanding about fishes and windows, the adult is severely limited. The child learner is not faced with an observer who launches off into a discussion of the problems of the tuna industry in California. The input to the child is simple in terms of syntax and obvious in terms of possible topic nominations.

The input to the adult learner, on the other hand, is highly unpredictable. One would feel slightly ridiculous asking "How many fish are there?" or "What color is the fish" in the above situation if the learner were an adult. Students in classrooms and children are always being asked questions for which the teacher or adult already knows the answer. The questions are not 'sincere'. As adults outside the classroom, we might well refuse to answer such questions, fearing we are being made fun of. Such questions are simply not appropriate in adult-adult conversations. Instead, the native speaker might begin a story about when he owned a fish tank or about the last time he went fishing or any other related topic. It is unlikely that the syntax in such a story would be simple or the story highly predictable for the learner. The adult, then, has a much larger and varied amount of language to deal with.

The input hypothesis also has a number of problems when it is applied to explaining adult/child differences, however. First, the input to the child is not always as simple as we have made it appear. Nor is it always highly predictable. Consider the following exchange from Peck's study of conversational exchanges between an eight-year-old learner and his native-speaker playmate as they put together a jigsaw puzzle:

Angel: Only one piece.
NS: Only one /piš//piš/ (4X) I can't stop!
Angel: This a old piece. Piece.
NS: /piš/ /piš/ You like /pišəs/?
Angel: No, I like pieces.
NS: What! Whatta you mean, you like /pišəs/?
Angel: Pizza.
NS: I like /pišɛs/.
Angel: I like pieces pizzas.
NS: /pɛpšiz/?
Angel: (sing-song) Pepsi-Coli yeah.

While the native-speaker does respond to the topic as nominated by Angel, it is hardly a predictable response. However, language play, Peck notes, may be predictable in terms of phonological variation on parts of utterances. There may be various kinds of predictability, to be sure, but one would be hard pressed to consider this exchange highly predictable even though the primary referent is physically present in the environment and even though it is used to focus on on-going activity (and thus does not violate the here/now principle).

On the other hand, input to the adult which has been said to be highly unpredictable does become predictable when the adult learner shows that he does not understand. Anyone who has had a great deal of contact with adult language learners knows that if the learner cannot respond to nominated topics, one can always fall back on the familiar topics about where are you from, how do you like it here, how long have you been here, is your family with you, before politely breaking off the conversation. Aside from these canned topics where both sides can operate comfortably, there are a number of other strategies that the learner can use in order to get syntax simplified and his conversational burden lightened. First, he can simply say 'huh?' or repeat parts of what he has heard. This will get the material recycled in interesting ways, as in this exchange between Ricardo, a teen-age learner and Guy Butterworth.

NS: Did you have a nice holiday?
Ricardo: Huh?
NS: (slower) Nice Christmas, was your Christmas nice?

NS: Did you have a nice weekend?
Ricardo: Huh?
NS: Friday, Saturday. Did you have fun?

Topics get left-shifted for emphasis. Questions will frequently be restated with a down-shifting in vocabulary towards higher frequency words. Questions will also be restated so that the learner can make a response more easily. For example, WH-questions will be restated as yes/no questions:

> Who is Kathi R? Is she the girl that's going to the Chili Pepper?
> How is your team? Is your team very good?
> Where in Capistrano Beach? Did you throw it in the dump?

To respond, the learner need only supply a yes or no and the turn passes automatically back to the native speaker. WH-questions are also frequently rephrased as either/or-questions or question+answer to give the learner a cue as to what he should say:

> If you win today, then what do you get? You know, a prize, a trophy?
> What else is good over there? The Haunted House?
> How do they--are they playing like this? Or are they playing like this?

Most adult learners also have a highly developed skill in guessing what is being said even though the topics do not follow the here/now principle. If the learner is successful in identifying the topic, he can predict the direction the conversation is likely to take. He can predict what questions he might be asked and he can predict, with greater or less accuracy, the order in which questions are likely to be posed. Sometimes, he will not succeed, but his answers give us data on this process:

> NS: How long to go home? Ricardo: In bus.
> NS: When do you watch cartoons? Ricardo: Aquaman.
> NS: Tired? Are you sleepy? Ricardo: In mi house.
> NS: When you get home, what will you do? Ricardo: I'm at home XXX 3:00.

The input hypothesis claims that input to adults is not simple, that the input does not conform to the here/now principle. The input to children does conform to the here/now principle and is syntactically simple. However, some input to children is not predictable and some of the input to adults is simple (providing the learner is successful in eliciting simplification using the strategies mentioned here and elsewhere).

We have talked about four explanations for child success in second language learning as compared with less successful language learning of adults. Each of these four explanations for the optimal age hypothesis has problems associated with it. But more important, we may be looking for explanations for the optimal age when the optimal age, in fact, does not exist. We are all busily trying to explain something which may have little basis in fact. What evidence is there that children are the better language learners?

If we look first at studies where the language has not been taught in any formal way, we find that not all child learners are successful. Young, for example, reported one case study of a non-learner, Alma. She attended kindergarten for eight months before she began to speak any English at all. Even then she did not suddenly burst forth with lots of language. Rather, her data look much like that of the other two learners Young studied during the first month of school. Slow learners have also been identified in the McGill project. These are children of 'normal intelligence who have language learning difficulties'. It seems likely that they are no different from children in a few of the private language schools in Los Angeles who teachers feel are incapable of complete instruction in the second language. These children do learn the language, of course, but they are recognized as having problems with the new language. We might want to know more about the drop-out rates and drop-out cases from all such schools.

There are also a number of observational studies which have specifically looked at age differences. Cazden et al. report that the best of their six learners in a study which involved young children, adolescents, and adults, was a ten-year-old. In a larger scale study, Snow followed the learning of Dutch by Americans living in the Netherlands. She found that in the beginning stages of language learning, the adolescents did best, the adults next, and the younger children learned the least in all areas tested including pronunciation. Chun reports similar results; teenagers did the best in her study which tested learners of various ages acquiring French in France.

It is true that many adults have been labeled 'non-learners.' The data (at least the data I have had access to) show these adults to be quite verbal in their English output but their fluency has not been matched by attention to morphology. And morphology, of course, is what we have used as a measure of progress in the language.

If we use morphology as a scale, we would also have to label many children as 'non-learners'. In any environment where the language heard by the learner is the language of other learners, we find problems with morphology. The Canadian data as well as Culver City data probably do not look that different from the English of children in Spanish-speaking areas of East Los Angeles nor the English of Navajo children. If we look only at morphology, and not at the ability to use the language for communication, we would call all of these children non-learners.

There is a good deal of literature on child vs. adult success in learning a new language with instruction. Dunkel and Pillet found that college students performed better on a battery of French tests than did children in grades three and four. Ekstrand, evaluating children in grades one through four after one semester of instruction in English, found that the older Swedish children did better than the younger ones. Bland & Keislar measured the time it took children to learn a 25-item criterion which included listening comprehension, oral production, and pronunciation in the new language. Children in fifth grade used 4.5 to 11 hours to reach criterion while preschool children took 12.5 to 17.5. Asher and Price tested language learning ability of four age groups. The task was to learn Russian imperatives during four teaching sessions which lasted a few minutes each. They found a direct progression over the age range; that is, the ability to respond to commands increased from age 8 to 10, from 10 to 14, and from 14 to the 18-20 age group.

Since it seems possible that adolescents and adults may be the better learners in the initial stage of learning while young children might be the better long-term learners, the experiments by the Danish schools are especially interesting. Florander & Jansen reported on results when English was introduced in grades 4, 5 and 6. After 80 hours of instruction, grade 6 students performed best. The students were tested again after 320 hours of instruction and while the differences among the groups was not as great, the performance of 6th graders was still significantly better (see also Mylov's report). Between three and four hundred students were evaluated in this project.

The Danish project evaluated foreign language learning. Eckstrand's recent student reports on data from over 2,000 migrant children learning Swedish as a second language. A battery of tests (pronunciation, dictation, listening comprehension, reading comprehension, free oral production, and free written production) was administered. The pupils were grouped into 26 age groups (4-month groups), and an analyses of variance on age differences was done. With the exception of Free oral production all variables were significantly different over the age range. Eckstrand concludes that "language learning ability improves with age, as does intellectual functioning, while social and emotional adjustment /other variables examined/ seem to be non elated to age."

Since older learners seem to do better in learning a language via instruction, it might be the case that they could 'catch up' on the new language if they began language instruction late. The Burstall report followed British children as they learned French in British schools. Approximately 12,000 children began French at age eight and were followed through age 13. Another 5,000 were followed from age eight to sixteen. These groups were then compared to children who began French at eleven or older, the usual age for introducing French in the British schools. The findings (among many others) were that children who began French at an earlier age did not show any substantial gains over children who began French three years later. This study is now being replicated and reported on by the McGill group and by the Culver-City project.

In all, this evidence seems to say that the very learners that the optimal age hypothesis would not hold high hopes for, are, in fact, the better language learners. There appears to be enough evidence to make us doubt whether the optimal age hypothesis is one that we as teachers or as language learners want to promote as 'real'. It helps us as teachers when we don't want to blame our teaching (or the student) for lack of success. It helps us as learners when we are looking for excuses for our poor performance in learning a new language.

Language learning is, obviously, possible at all ages. We ought to (and many researchers are) turn our attention to explaining the variation that we find among learners regardless of age. That there should be differences among individuals in learning a language should not be surprising. There are differences among learners in all kinds of learning. If I am not successful next year, I don't think it will be the case that I am just too old to succeed. As a language teacher I know much more now about creating a better language learning environment so I may make better progress this time.

Myths never last long if there is no feeling that they are true. The optimal age hypothesis appeals to many of us. It may be that, as adults, we see that language learning for us is a never-ending task. We cannot be pleased at the small steps we have made; we cannot be content with what we have learned at the moment and use it with a real sense of joy. We always realize that there is more to learn and we are seldom pleased with our progress. Perhaps that is why we judge ourselves to be such poor second language learners.

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ACCENTEDNESS IN THE CLASSROOM*

Kathleen M. Bailey and Jose L. Galvan

Introduction:

> While we cannot deny the historical validity of the melting-pot concept--in spite of the fact that not all groups fully melted--nor indeed the necessity of developing common cultural institutions in the process of building a nation, we must recognize that we have entered a new period in American history, for which a new metaphor is appropriate--that of the salad bowl. This metaphor is particularly apt, for a salad is not just a mere mechanical mixture of elements; it is rather an emergent entity which is more than the sum of its parts, in which the parts remain distinguishible and we can still recognize their separate contribution to the whole. It is this integrity of our cultural components, then, and their identifiability, which forms the basis of the new metaphor. (Saville-Troike, 1976, p.3)[1]

The metaphor of the salad bowl has interesting implications for teacher training with regard to cultural and linguistic differences among students. For example, there are many recent immigrants and linguistic minority children in our schools today whose English may be accented to some degree. We need to ask ourselves what our educational system can or should do to accomodate these differences. How do we as teachers respond to language variation or accentedness? What is known about the influence of such attitudes on teacher behavior? What provisions should teacher training programs include for educating teachers about these cultural and linguistic differences? What can local school districts do to better equip their teachers to deal with cultural diversity in the classroom?

In recent years, research has been directed toward these questions. Investigators have identified accentedness as a factor in hiring practices (Baird, 1969; Thompson, 1973). More recently, studies of accentedness have been conducted in the school setting. Preliminary findings indicate that accent variations in the English of Mexican-Americans are reflected in teachers' behavior in two ways (Galvan, Pierce and Underwood, 1975). First of all, teachers perceive accented speakers differentially. Secondly, their subsequent attitudes toward those speakers vary according to the degree of the students' accentedness.

This essay will attempt to formulate a framework within which these issues may be examined with respect to teacher training. We start out by reviewing some of the pertinent literature on teacher expectations and accentedness. In each case, we make specific recommendations for future research. Then we address the issue of teacher training as it relates to attitudes toward accentedness. Finally, we consider the implications of this review and make recommendations for the future regarding teacher training.

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*The authors wish to thank Sabrina Peck for reading this paper in manuscript form and making helpful suggestions.

Teachers' Attitudes in the Classroom:

In an extensive review of the research on teacher expectations, Brophy and Good (1974) found that teachers' attitudes directly influence their classroom behavior. They also found that teachers were frequently unaware of those attitudes and the resulting "inappropriate" behavior. They report that differential treatment of students within classes is usually done unconsciously by teachers and that the teachers usually change their behavior once they are aware of it. Furthermore, changes in teacher behavior are usually followed by complementary changes in student behavior.

The authors found that teachers make early and lasting judgments of students, and that these judgments are frequently based on first impressions. Within the first week of school, students are assigned to reading groups or study tables by teachers who may be using very little information in making these decisions. In practice this information is derived from both external and personal evaluations.

The external data involved in such grouping decisions sometimes include "objective" measures (e.g., previous grades, achievement test scores, etc.) and sometimes subjective information, such as input from principals, counselors and other teachers on the individual student or even members of his family (comparison with older sibling, family standing in the community, stigmatizing social factors, etc.). But teachers also rely on first-hand assessments in making decisions about students. An individual's early classroom performance, his attentiveness, and the extent to which he volunteers all have a powerful effect on a teacher's early judgments of the student, as do his clothing, physical attractiveness, personal cleanliness and the amount and frequency of his disruptive behavior. This is not to say that teachers willfully or maliciously stereotype students. Instead, school policies about grouping and the prevalent tracking system within and across classes force teachers to group children in many ways. Unfortunately, factors such as clothing, personal hygiene and a child's social behavior--which may have little or nothing to do with his intellectual ability--are often operative in the early decisions teachers make about students.

Although they point out many problems with Rosenthal and Jacobsen's controversial Pygmalion study (1968), Brophy and Good conclude that these early judgments lead to long-range expectations and attitudes on the part of the teacher, which have subtle and significant consequences. Apparently such attitudes generate an expectation effect within the teacher, which is sometimes realized as a self-fulfilling prophecy; the teacher expects the student to do poorly and as a result of several complex interactional processes, the student ultimately does poorly. A negative assessment of a child's ability for example, may lead to a cushioning effect, even among well-meaning teachers. This tendency to "protect" those students rated as low by the teacher is often realized in the frequency of turns allotted to the poorer students (Good and Brophy, 1971). Teachers sometimes attempt to avoid embarrassing a student, especially when they feel he is unable to answer a question. For this reason, a poor student may be asked fewer questions or given fewer opportunities to respond.

What is more, the types of tasks delegated to "low" students are often easier than those delegated to "bright" students. For instance, a low student might be asked to confirm or deny information in a yes/no question ("Did

Junipero Serra establish the first missions in California?) or provide basic information in answer to a content question ("Who began the first missions in California?"). In contrast, a bright student might be asked a more complex question of process or inference ("Why were the missions built in California?" What was the life like in an early mission? How were the missions organized?") Thus although we as teachers believe we are protecting the low students from failure or embarrassment, there is evidence that we may also be short-changing them in terms of the educational opportunities we provide, or prevent them from having.

Another example of the cushioning effect is found in the length of time a teacher will wait for the response to a question before prompting the student, moving on to another person, or answering the question herself. In a study that sampled teachers' wait-times in science and mathematics lessons, Rowe (1969) found that teachers waited significantly less time for the poor students to reply to a question. In other words, slow students had to reply to questions more rapidly than bright ones. The study goes on to report that teachers with very short wait-times were inflexible in the kinds of responses they allowed. On the other hand, wait-times of not less than five seconds combined with low teacher rewards had the effect of producing longer responses and more exchanges between children. The students were also more confident and tended to speculate more and provide more supportive evidence for their ideas. Is it possible that the benevolent desire to avoid embarrassing students in fact limits their educational opportunities to an undetermined extent?

So far we have seen that teachers form early and lasting impressions of students. These impressions are operative in the formation of teacher attitudes and expectations, which in turn are sometimes realized as inappropriate or prejudicial behavior. Furthermore, a teacher's classroom behavior can be unwittingly discriminatory in terms of the types of tasks allotted to a student, the frequency of such tasks, and the time he has in which to perform the desired response behavior. If extraneous factors such as a student's clothing and personal cleanliness can influence a teacher's perception of a child's ability, how and to what extent can a student's accent influence a teacher's perception of that child?

In order to answer this question, we need to examine the literature on accent variation and see how it relates to teacher attitudes. We might ask how differences due to language background affect teacher attitudes. More specifically, are negative expectation effects related to accentedness as they have been shown to be realted to other student characteristics? Secondly, would such attitudes result in a cushioning (or other) effect that might limit a child's educational opportunities?

Attitudes Toward Language Variation:

Several studies have identified differential personality judgments based on language variation. Both speaker and listener characteristics can influence the polarity of evaluations made about a tape-recorded stimulus. The studies by Lambert and his associates in Canada (Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-Komshian, 1965; Lambert, 1967; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960; Preston, 1963; Tucker and Lambert, 1969) established that the judgments people make about speakers just on the basis of vocal cues (i.e., tape recorded speech samples) are related to factors such as the sex, social class, and dialect of the speakers. In other words, they found that subjects gave consistent personality evaluations of the speakers whose voices they heard and that this consistency correlated with the social and linguistic characteristics of the speakers. Another Canadian study investigated personality evaluations made by bilingual French-English subjects about speakers tape-recorded in both English and French and found that the bilingual judges were influenced by the language spoken by the speaker. The ratings of the same speaker were significantly different for French and English, depending on the language heard (Brown, 1969).

Researchers in the United States have reported similar results. Evaluations of the language as well as the personality of speakers representing a variety of regional and ethnic dialects have also been linked to social and linguistic characteristics of both listeners and speakers. Shuy and his co-workers at Georgetown University investigated the attitudes of college students in northern and southern universities toward the English speech of white northerners and southerners and Black southerners (Shuy, 1969; Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram, 1969). Their findings suggest that the more nonstandard varieties of English are evaluated more negatively regardless of the judges' language background. However, the intensity of the evaluations is less strong among the judges who themselves speak nonstandard varieties of English. Labov's (1966) study of the varities of English spoken in New York City found them to be distinguishible in terms of the speakers' social class. In reviewing studies that used teachers as raters, Brophy and Good (1974) conclude that teachers too are negatively affected by nonstandard speech.

Williams and his associates at the University of Texas at Austin conducted a series of studies in which teachers were asked to evaluate the language and personality of Anglo, Black and Mexican-American children (Williams, 1970, 1973a, 1973b; Williams, Whitehead and Miller, 1971a, 1971b; Williams, Whitehead and Traupman, 1971). They used a matched-guise technique in which videotapes of the children were paired with audio tapes in various combinations, so that both visual and vocal cues were controlled. Their findings demonstrated a similar set of correlations between the characteristics of the speakers and those of the teachers. In the first place, teachers gave different evaluations of Anglo, Black and Mexican-American children; Anglos received higher ratings than the rest and Mexican-Americans lower ratings than the other two groups. Secondly, they found the ethnicity of their judges to be related to their judgments in an interesting way. On a group of attitude scales related to ethnicity and standardness, teachers of all backgrounds evaluated Black and Mexican-American students more negatively than Anglo students, but Black teachers were more positive than white teachers in their evaluations of both Black and Mexican-American children. Finally, they found that the ratings also varied according to the social class of the speakers. For example, among middle class youngsters of all three ethnic backgrounds, the Mexican-Americans were judged the least confident and eager. The ethnicity-standardness ratings for the low and middle class groups were lower for both Mexican-Americans and Blacks than for Anglos of either class.

Several recent studies which examine accent variations among Mexican-American speakers of English demonstrate that the same evaluative polarities noted above for standard/nonstandard varieties of English apply to the scale of least- to most-accented English. That is, the more accented Mexican-American speakers of English consistently receive more negative judgments on both personality and linguistic rating scales. And these judgments are based on vocal cues alone!

These studies use a variety of techniques for identifying the speakers heard, including the three which we will consider here: categorical distinctions, in which speakers represent either accented or nonaccented varieties of English; a modification of the matched-guise technique described above; and a scaled paradigm, in which the speakers are ranked by independent methods from least- to most-accented.

Ryan and Carranza (1975) asked Anglo, Black and Mexican-American female high school students in Chicago to rate the personalities of male speakers of standard English and Spanish-accented English. While their design distinguished between home and school contexts and significant differences were found between the two, their more general finding, which is that the standard English speakers were assigned more positive ratings in all of the scales used in both contexts, illustrates the strength of this correlation.

Politzer and Ramirez (1973) report that both Mexican-American and Anglo children give more negative ratings to accented varieties of English than to standard English on a single-speaker matched guise design. In another study employing the same technique, Arthur, Farrar and Bradford (1974) also found that more negative ratings on some evaluative scales were related to the more heavily-accented varieties.

Galván, Pierce and Underwood (1975, 1976) used both paired-comparison and criterion-referenced techniques to scale the speech of Spanish-accented Mexican-American college students. They too found that judgments on both personality and language scales are related in polarity to the degree of accent apparent in the English of the speakers. Significantly, the judges were teacher candidates specializing in the teaching of secondary school English. Ryan and Carranza (in press) report on a study by Ryan, Carranza and Moffie (in press) in which they found increases in accentedness to be associated with increasingly negative reactions about personal and speech characteristics of the speakers. This was based on a sample of Anglo college student raters. Their scale was determined by two methods different from those used by Galván, et al (1975); however, Galván, Lodmer, Ochsner, Plummer, Telatnik and Walter (1977) speculate that degree of accentedness can be determined by a variety of methods with similar results.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these studies. In the first place, people do consistently distinguish among accent varieties. In the second place, these differences in accentedness correlate in a disturbing way with the judges' attitudes toward the speakers (i.e., the more accented speakers receive the least favorable ratings). In the third place, even individuals who will be working intimately with language in the classroom (i.e., high school English teachers) are influenced by degrees of accentedness.

Future research should replicate studies of language attitudes and accentedness such as the Galván, et al, studies (1975, 1976) and Ryan, Carranza and

Moffie (in press) with more and/or different controls. Attitudes in different regions of the country should be investigated. One study underway examines this issue with respect to Texas and California (Galván, et al, 1977). Teachers from different backgrounds should also be included in future studies. For example, would teachers from different language backgrounds perceive accentedness in the same way as Anglo teachers do? Accent variation among speakers of other languages should also be investigated.

Some questions remain. How are these attitudes realized in teachers' classroom behavior? Also, what can we as teacher trainers do to monitor and perhaps alter these attitudes and behavioral patterns? These questions will guide us in the discussion that follows.

Changing Teachers' Behavior:

We have just seen that accent variations affect even those individuals who should be least affected by them. We have also seen that teachers' attitudes strongly influence their classroom behavior. Since it is possible that teachers' attitudes toward accented individuals may also influence their classroom behavior, we need to address the issue of teacher training.

There is some indication that making teachers aware of their attitudes toward student characteristics, perhaps to include accentedness, may be impetus enough to begin altering their behavior (Brophy and Good, 1974). However, Tuckman, McCall and Hyman (1969) found that the mere provision of information by itself is not as effective in changing teacher behavior as when it is accompanied by details about their classroom conduct. In a study designed to assess the effects of various approaches to changing teacher behavior, four groups of high school teachers representing three treatments and a control group were compared. Tuckman, et al, were interested, first, in determining whether teachers whose self-perceptions of their teaching behavior were different from external observations of their behavior, would alter (a) their perception, (b) their behavior, or (c) both their perception and their behavior. Secondly, the study sought to evaluate three different methods of providing teachers with information about their classroom behavior.

The three treatments studied were audio tape recordings of the teachers' classrooms, training in Interaction Analysis (IA), and direct verbal feedback based on IA observations of their behavior. Teachers in the first group listened to unedited tape recordings of three different lessons, but received no critical commentary from the researchers. The second group was trained in a modified system of Interaction Analysis. The remaining group was provided with specific input from observers regarding their classroom behavior vis-à-vis IA. Although all the teachers in the study were monitored by trained IA observers, the difference between the second and third groups is that the third group received the interpretation of the results from an external source, while the second group did not. Although they were trained in IA procedures (Flanders, 1970), there was no requirement that they analyze their own teaching. The control group received no feedback of any kind.

Tuckman, et al, found that the verbal feedback treatment produced the most significant change in teaching behavior when compared to the control group, especially among teachers whose perceptions of their teaching differed greatly from the objective analysis of their teaching. While this research does not address the question of the relationship between student characteristics and teaching behavior, its relevance to this review lies in its implications for changing behavior in the classroom.

Other studies have assessed the usefulness of various means of producing changes in teaching behavior. Jacoby (1976) discusses the positive results obtained by combining student evaluations of teaching (SET) with specific behavioral prescriptions for change. He found that teaching could be improved by identifying teachers' strengths through SET and then cataloguing the particular behaviors which those teachers felt had produced their high ratings in given categories. These activities were then prescribed for teachers who had been rated low in those categories. On subsequent SET reports the low-rated teachers showed improvement in these categories.

Several studies have tried to define the carry-over effects of training teachers to use observation instruments. Moskowitz (1968) found that training foreign language teachers (both preservice and inservice) in the use of various systems of Interaction Analysis influenced both their attitudes and their classroom behavior. In reviewing eighteen projects that used IA to help modify teaching behavior, Flanders (1970) concludes that a program of (1) initial attention to teaching activities, followed by (2) practice in analyzing teaching behavior combined with (3) performing it with feedback tends to incorporate such behavior in teachers' repertoires.

In a study designed to assess the effectiveness of a "mini-course" on improving classroom discussion techniques, Borg (1969) found that teachers did in fact change their classroom behavior. By using a delayed post-treatment measure he also found that teachers retained most of the skills acquired in the mini-course. Other means of changing teaching behavior include videotape feedback (Olivero, 1972) or evaluation by outside observers using objective instruments, such as the Instrument for the Observation of Teaching Activities (IOTA), (Bradley, Kallenbach, Kinney, Owen and Washington, 1973). In a study which examined the use of two ESL observation instruments (one of which was based on the IOTA model) Bailey (1976) found that teachers benefit from having an active role in the evaluative process.

All of these approaches to improving teaching behavior attempt first to make teachers aware of their behavior in some way, and then to provide them with alternative behaviors. Although relatively little has been done as yet to investigate changing teachers' attitudes toward language variation, there is strong evidence that teachers' classroom behavior can be altered for the better.

Further investigations of teacher attitudes and behavior are also needed. Observational studies of classroom interaction should be designed to document the behavior of those teachers whose attitudes toward accentedness have been found to be the most positive and the most negative. Following up on the Galván, et al (1976) report, pre- and post-measures of teacher attitudes with university coursework as the treatment need to be compared. Likewise, similar studies utilizing training with a feedback component as the treatment are needed to assess the various strategies for changing teachers' behavior.

We have considered the relationship between teachers' classroom behavior and teacher attitudes toward students. Secondly, we have surveyed the research on accentedness, which suggests that more heavily-accented individuals are perceived more negatively by teachers. We speculated that teachers' attitudes toward accentedness may be reflected in their classroom conduct. Next we presented findings which suggest effective strategies for changing teachers' classroom behavior. Now we need to consider the implications of this research for teacher training.

University Education of Prospective Teachers:

In this essay we have seen that teachers' attitudes are often realized in inappropriate or problematic classroom behavior. We have found not only that teachers perceive differences in accent but that they also express more negative attitudes toward more heavily accented individuals. The main conclusion we can draw from this information is that we obviously need to know more about this problem.

Nevertheless, it is our feeling that the university education of prospective teachers should include coursework which will make them aware of their cultural biases. The findings of the Galván, et al (1976) study suggest that there is a slight difference in attitudes toward accented speech between teachers who had taken courses in sociolinguistics and those who had not. While the obtained difference was not statistically significant, the absolute improvement is not known since no pre-test measure was administered. We would caution that since these results are inconclusive, further study is needed. However, our initial interpretation of the data would suggest that coursework of a culturally broadening nature may help to make teachers aware of their own attitudes. We concur with Brophy and Good (1974) that becoming aware of one's attitudes is a first step in changing one's behavior.

Based on this review we are prepared to make some recommendations about teacher training curricula:

(1) Teacher candidates should receive courses in sociolinguistics, especially those dealing with language variation, and first and second language acquisition. Such courses would supplement exposure to minority culture already offered in many schools of education.

(2) Student-teaching programs should continue to include a feedback component. There are two reasons why this is important. The first is that the student teaching experience seems to be an ideal time for instilling new awarenesses in teachers (Moskowitz, 1968). The second reason is that there is little supervision of teachers after completion of their university preparation (Brophy and Good, 1974; McNeil, 1971). These factors accentuate the need for continued emphasis on supervision during teacher training.

(3) There should be further use of objective instruments for analyzing classroom interaction utilizing Tuckman's findings with respect to feedback strategies. In other words, during their student-teaching experience teachers should receive direct verbal input based on objective data about their classroom behavior.

To the extent that these three factors are already a part of the teacher training curricula, many institutions have in fact begun to address the question of teacher attitudes and behaviors. We would hope that as more is learned about accentedness and language variation in general, these specific issues would be incorporated into a prospective teacher's education.

In-Service Training

Ideally a teacher's education should not end with the credentialling process. Indeed for dealing with the kinds of issues we have raised in this essay, mini-courses at the in-service training level would provide an effective vehicle for making teachers aware of their attitudes and behavior, and for effecting the kinds of changes which may be desirable. There are several reasons for considering in-service training as a means of dealing with these problems:

(1) In-service training is pragmatically oriented. Workshops are normally geared to the application of theoretical models rather than to intellectual inquiry.

(2) Such workshops offer a more intensive treatment of a topic in a shorter period of time than is provided in university courses. In-service training programs make it possible to reach teachers who have not had exposure to the kinds of culturally broadening activities described above. Regrettably, this group composes the majority of teachers in the field.

(3) Another advantage of in-service workshops is their specialization. Because they are usually designed by school districts to concentrate on one thing, it is possible to localize the orientation. For example, the cultural components of in-service courses would be very different in a Navajo reservation and in Dade County, Florida.

(4) Finally, in-service training programs can address the immediate problems teachers face in the classroom on a daily basis. They can provide teachers with problen-solving strategies geared to their own classrooms, their own individual needs viz. their students, and any other "real world" concerns.

Given the framework just described, we can reconsider the issue of teachers' attitudes toward accentedness and their resultant behaviors. We can envision an in-service training program to include a sociolinguistic component which would involve language variation and accentedness as they relate to the specific community. Discussions and demonstrations could be used to help teachers become aware of stereotypical views on nonstandard dialects. The cultural component, which is already included in most districts' in-service workshops, would complement this linguistic training.

In-service training, however, should also include direct feedback to teachers. Easy access to videotaping equipment makes it possible for many school districts to provide teachers with unbiased information about their actual classroom behavior. The coding processes involved in Interaction Analysis and other observation systems also provide teachers with objective information about their behavior. If training faculty members in such systems is not feasible, independent outside observers can be called in to observe classroom interaction. Although it is more subjective, input from principals, supervisors and peers has been shown to be useful in changing teachers' behavior. Peer visitations could be built in as the feedback component of most locally planned workshops. Finally, student evaluations of teaching should be considered in any in-service training program designed to help teachers improve their teaching.

In-service training programs which include linguistic and cultural information, and direct feedback to teachers, could do much to help credentialled teachers improve their classroom performance. As more information becomes available through research on teacher behavior and attitudes toward accentedness, our schools will be better prepared to help teachers deal effectively and fairly with linguistic minority children.

FOOTNOTE

1. The term "salad bowl" was used by Bambi Cárdenes at a meeting on Mexican-American education held by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in San Antonio, Texas, in March, 1974.

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A COMPARISON OF THE ACCENTED SPEECH OF SEVEN SPANISH-ENGLISH BILINGUAL SPEAKERS*

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Introduction

Recent research on attitudes towards varieties of langauge has produced some alarming findings. The work of Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) identified differences in personality judgments of speakers made on the basis of the sex, social class, or dialect of their French-Canadian judges. Since then other researchers have studied differences in language attitudes in the United States. Regional, ethnic, and apparent accentedness factors have been identified as having an effect on the kinds of judgments expressed by native speakers listening to speech samples from a variety of English dialects. Persons who are identified as having non-standard speech receive lower ratings than those who speak a standard variety of English (for example, see Shuy, Baratz, and Wolfram 1969; Baird 1969; Williams, Whitehead, and Miller 1971; Underwood 1975; and Galvan, Pierce, and Underwood 1975).

These studies underscore some of the difficulties that confront a non-standard speaker of English. If native English speakers perceive a person's accent as a mark of inferiority--and the above mentioned studies suggest that this prejudice exists--then those of us involved with the teaching of ESL and the training of teachers must carefully consider this problem. Further studies are needed to show what, if any, specific features of accented speech triggers a negative attitude. There are several other questions ESL language researchers should consider. For example: Are there "good" and "bad" accents? Can a comprehensive scale of accentedness be devised? Should we as ESL instructors warn students about the disadvantages of an accent? Should we try to "correct" accents; and if so, how and to what degree? These are just a few questions, and certainly not new ones. Nevertheless, an understanding of accentedness, its problems, and possible means of overcoming these problems deserves our immediate attention. The present study is a step in this direction.

The Ranking of Accents

Two previous studies have considered the scaling of accentedness in the English of Mexican-American bilinguals. Both attempts sought to identify the factors which might account for the divergence from what is perceived as native American English speech. It has generally been assumed that accentedness in speech can be explained in terms of phonological transfer from L1. Presumably, if these differences were described and quantified (and perhaps mathematically weighted) it might be possible to then list the various factors which influence native listeners in judging a given speaker as more or less accented than another. Ryan (1973), for instance, provides a list of possible phonological variables based on contrastive analyses of Spanish and English which might be used in such a description.

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*The research reported in this paper was conducted as part of a seminar on Bilingual Comparative Studies taught in the TESL program at UCLA in the winter quarter, 1977 by Professor Galvan. We are grateful to Professor Diane Larsen-Freeman for her helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper and to the students who patiently listened and reacted to the research in progress. We alone, of course, are responsible for the content.

In a subsequent study, Brennan, Ryan, and Dawson (1975) used two methods to scale the reading speech of eight Spanish-English bilinguals. They found that non-linguistically trained college students at the University of Notre Dame gave reliable judgments of the accentedness of these speech samples. In other words, these listeners agreed on the various levels of accentedness in the speech they heard. This agreement was obtained by two separate methods. In one of these, Ss responded by magnitude estimation. This involved Ss giving numbers to reflect their subjective impressions of the ratios that existed among the eight speakers. In the other method, called sensory-modality matching, Ss varied the magnitude of their hand grip on a hand dynamometer to match their subjective impressions of the speech samples.

A second part of the Brennan et al study correlated these ratings with the number of instances of non-standard pronunciation of 12 phonological features of English. These deviations from native English pronunciation were identified independently by two researchers who listened to the tapes selectively and rated the standardness in pronunciation of each occurrence of these 12 features. The significant correlation which they found confirmed Ryan's earlier suggestion that accentedness might be defined operationally as "the degree to which only the phonological structures of Spanish influences speech produced in English by bilingual Mexican-Americans."

Galvan, Pierce, and Underwood (1975) used two different methods to scale the reading speech of seven bilingual Mexican-Americans. One was a paired-comparison design in which 44 undergraduate linguistics students at the University of Texas at Austin were asked to select the version in each pair which was more like the usual American English pronunciation. The second method involved a set of five criteria, from "sounds like a native speaker of English" to "almost unintelligible."[1] Ninety-two undergraduate teacher-candidates were asked to assign one of these five criteria to each of the seven speakers. Not unlike the Brennan et al results, both methods gave identical scales, and it was concluded that college students with or without linguistic training were able to reliably determine the extent of accentedness in recorded speech samples.[2]

Description of the Present Study

The present study continues the Galvan et al investigation by attempting to determine whether phonological features can be used to explain the relative positions of the seven speakers on the obtained accentedness scale. This is done by first identifying the specific speech characteristics which appear to deviate from the standard American English pronunciation, and, second, by comparing these characteristics with the accentedness rankings. These preliminary results are evaluated, and directions for further research are presented.

The speakers in the Texas project were recorded reading the following two sentences: "Buddy always pulled up a chair to watch his father wash and shave. He saw him spread the hot lather with a wet yellow brush and then zip off the whiskers with a cheap razor that looked just like tin to him." Phonetic transcriptions were made for each of the seven speakers, and the initial analysis was based on the 12 features used in the Brennan et al study. These features represent 12 areas where Spanish interference is expected in speaking English. It is the deviation from these features and how often they occur that are suggested as demonstrating accentedness.

These were (1) stressed (ae), as in "lather," the sentence conjunction "and" in the passage, and for some speakers "that"; (2) stressed /ɪ/, as in "zip," "whiskers," "tin," and "him"; (3) stressed /a/, as in "always," "watch." "father,""wash," "hot," and "off"; (4) stressed /ə/, as in "Buddy," "up," "brush," and "just"; (5) /z/, as in "always," "his," "zip," "whiskers," and "razor"; (6) epenthetic /e/ introduced before initial /s/, as in "spread"; (7) /v/, as in "shave"; (8) /č/, /š/, as in "chair," "watch," "wash," "shave," "brush," and "cheap"; (9) /y/, /ǰ/, as in "yellow" and "just"; (10) /θ/, /ð/, as in "father," "the," "lather," "with," and "then"; (11) final /d/, as in "pulled" and "spread"; and (12) final consonant clusters, as in "looked."

Though examples of the 12 features from the Brennan et al study appear in the reading text, some of the specific examples are missing or optional in rapid speech. For instance, the /ae/ in unstressed "that" can be pronounced [ə] or [ɪ], and in "and" as a verb phrase conjunction it is reduced to [ə]. The /a/ of "always," etc. has the optional pronunciation of [ɔ]. Final /z/ is also acceptable as [s] when it is followed by a voiceless consonant as in the phrase "always pulled." In the phrase "the whiskers with," the final s of "whiskers" should be [z] since it is followed by a voiced /w/. However, an informal survey of native English speakers at UCLA showed a variation of [s] and [z]. We assume, therefore, that this pronunciation is optional, perhaps a reflection of regional variation. Finally, in (10) there are no examples of /θ/. The th in "with" is voiced in the environment "with a."

We chose to begin our analysis by transcribing the entire two-sentence passage for each speaker. Brennan et al had listened selectively to the passages and judged each separate occurrence of the 12 features as to its deviation from the accepted pronunciation. We decided to do complete transcriptions for two reasons.

In the first place, it is possible that the selective listening approach used by the Notre Dame researchers may tend to produce misleading judgments which an approach based on phonetic transcription seeks to avoid. Research in phonetics has shown that there are ranges in the acceptable production of the various speech sounds within a given language. Speakers will not necessarily produce a given sound the same way each time it is uttered. Also, there is a range in the acceptable production of speech sounds across regional and (even) local dialects, and therefore idiolectal variation is not necessarily an indication of accentedness. Since it appears from both studies under discussion that a variety of methods of subjective judgment will result in consistent scalings of speakers, it is possible that judgments of deviation from a subjective norm on specific features may be affected in a similar way. This is of special concern if the raters are consciously looking for deviations. Although it appears that this difficulty may be avoidable by analyzing phonetic descriptions of speech made without reference to other speakers, it remains a problem unless we can enlist the aid of machine analyzers to arrive at more objective phonetic representations. In the second place, there was the possibility that we would find additional and perhaps more revealing differences elsewhere in the passage.

The Findings

For the present paper, we are considering the 12 Brennan et al features first in our evaluation of the phonological deviations. We will then look at other features, but this report is not intended as an exhaustive review as our research is continuing.

While we have identified 16 places in our passage in which there are differences among the seven speakers on 7 of the 12 Brennan et al features (all except (6), (7), (9), and (11)), only in 3 of these places did we find the differences to be outside the range of acceptable pronunciation in standard American speech. This was based on transcriptions by three of the present writers, all native speakers of English and all trained in phonetic notation. Actually, in one of these four--the /ɪ/ of "him"--the difference appeared in an unstressed rather than the stressed environment identified by Brennan et al. (Note that in the discussion which follows, reference to speakers will be in terms of their position in the accentedness ranking, e.g. Speaker 1 is least accented and Speaker 7 is most accented.)

1. unstressed /ɪ/ in "him." Two of the Speakers produced unacceptable versions of this vowel in this environment, a high front [iy].

Speaker 3: [hiym]

Speaker 7: [hiyŋ]

Speakers 1, 5, and 6 produced [him] and Speakers 2 and 4 [həm], both acceptable variations of this phoneme.

2. /š/ in "shave." Speaker 6 produced the only case of č/š substitution, and this in word initial position.

Speaker 6: [čeyv]

Word final /š/ was fricativized as expected. All other speakers produced acceptable versions in all environments.

3. /ð/ in "with." Speaker 5 produced a variant stop [d] in the first occurrence of "with" in the passage and the expected [ð] in the second.

Speaker 5: [wɪd]

This was judged unacceptable for the Texas dialect of English which both the speaker and the accentedness scale raters represented. All other speakers produced the expected version.

It should be clear from the examples cited that the phonetic variation in these 12 features is not strong enough to account for the ranking of the seven speakers. Thus, out of 40 opportunities in our passage to deviate from the standard pronunciation of 12 phonological features, only four of the seven speakers produced non-standard variants in only three environments.

One possible explanation for this might be that they do not represent a wide enough range of accentedness. However, since the range is distinctive enough to have resulted in two identical scales based on two different rating methods by fairly large numbers of judges, one would hope that the perceived variation could be described. A second explanation might be that something in addition to the phonological variation could be accounting for at least part of the scaling results. This second possibility is especially interesting because there do appear to be a number of other features, some subjective features, which appear to be substandard.

4. reading miscue in "off." Consider the following reading miscue.[3]

Speaker 5: [əp]

This apparent reading error suggests that the reading performance in itself might affect the pattern of the rankings. In fact, we found two additional instances of phonetic realizations apparently affected by reading performance. These involved the definite and indefinite articles, "a" and "the."

5. unstressed "a." Speakers 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7 produced a mid-front dipthongized [ey], which is unacceptable in standard speech, though it is sometimes characteristic of reading speech. While we can only speculate for the present, it appears that this may be a possible source of negative evaluations of speech.

6. unstressed "the." Either [ðɪ] or [ðə] apparently are acceptable pronunciations in both environments (i.e. followed by the palatal fricative of "hot" and by either the semi-vowel or fricative versions of "whiskers"). It is perhaps significant that only Speakers 6 and 7 pronounced it as [ðɪ] in both cases. What is even more interesting is that these two speakers also pronounced the indefinite article as [ey]. These are two possible cues to a marked reading style characterized by apparent interference from the printed word.

We are far from being able to suggest a direct correlation between aspects of the reading style and the accentedness rankings. However, our findings even now suggest that future research on accentedness should address this question more directly than has been done. For instance, even though there were no more apparent phonetic differences in the speech of Speaker 7 than in that of Speaker 6, one possible explanation for the obtained ranking, as has been suggested, might be the reading style.

There is also subjective evidence in support of this explanation. The three transcribers informally noted their subjective impressions of the reading intonation and stress pattern. Notice on the following list the general pattern of most to least "natural" reading style.

"Normal" or "Standard" reading -- Speakers 1, 2, 4
"Slight sing-song" reading -- Speaker 3
"Word stress" or "Machine gun" -- Speakers 5, 6
"Broken and sing-song" reading -- Speaker 7

The transcribers felt that Speakers 1, 2, and 4 read the passage in a style indistinguishable from that of a monolingual English speaker. Speaker 3's performance contained aspects of pitch and stress which were identified as either a peculiar style of reading or the result of some slight interference from Spanish. Speakers 5 and 6 seemed to be strongly influenced by Spanish. For the last reader, Speaker 7, the terminal junctures were inappropriately spaced, and the general tone of the reading was characterized by a high degree of uncertainty.

Another observation concerns the Texas accent features apparent in some of the speakers. Although this has not been of primary interest in this study to date, indications are that it will need to be dealt with in the future. The following list summarizes the general impressions of the transcribers about the Spanish and Texas accentedness of the speakers. Remember that, like the impressions of reading style above, these are subjective judgments.

No Texas accent, no Spanish accent -- Speaker 1
Some Texas, no Spanish accent -- Speakers 2, 3
Some Texas, slight Spanish accent -- Speaker 4
No Texas, some Spanish accent -- Speakers 5, 6
Some Texas, some Spanish accent -- Speaker 7

The difference between Speaker 1 and Speakers 2 and 3 appears to be solely one of Texas vs. non-Texas accent. A similar difference appears between Speaker 7 and Speakers 5 and 6. This suggests that some of the phonetic differences identified in the speech of some bilinguals may in fact be dialect features.

To summarize, the present study has attempted to identify specific speech characteristics in the English of a group of bilinguals which might account for their relative positions on a scale of least to most accented. We have found (1) that unlike the Brennan et al findings, phonetic differences alone do not account for the reliable scaling of accents; (2) that reading style may be an important factor in the perception of accentedness and therefore needs to be investigated; and (3) that since regional accents may interact with foreign accents in subtle ways a better understanding of what constitutes regional (and perhaps substandard) dialects is necessary in order to understand accentedness.

Suggestions for Future Research

These results suggest several areas for further research. For example, (1) we need to investigate the suprasegmental features more precisely to see if they are distinctive in the rankings. We are currently doing an analysis of pitch, amplitude, voicing, and duration with the assistance of the UCLA phonetics laboratory's speech analysis computer.[4] (2) Brennan et al report that untrained listeners were unable to describe directly the specific pronunciation features which influenced their judgments. This needs to be investigated further to include suprasegmental features. While it may be difficult for listeners to identify specific segmental features, it may be possible for them to identify the more salient suprasegmental cues to a reading style (e.g. staccato vs. smooth reading style and so on).

(3) It is obvious from the discussion about the apparent effects of reading and the regional accent that we will need to find alternate methods for the elicitation of the speech samples. We should avoid reading samples and attempt to elicit natural speech. Some possibilities we will consider include elicited imitation, sentence memorization, short-answer questions about picture stimuli, story telling-retelling, paraphrasing, and role playing.

(4) Finally, when one considers that this study deals only with Spanish-accented English, it becomes obvious that a similar research design can be applied to the study of other accents and, in fact, to the comparative study of accents across languages.

Indeed, the research possibilities for the study of accentedness are numerous. Since this kind of research is directly relevant to the field of ESL in areas such as teacher training and teacher-student interaction, we intend to continue our efforts. We only hope that others will join us in these investigations.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The list of possible responses is as follows:

1. Sounds like that of a native speaker of English
2. Just a trace of accent but always intelligible.
3. Definite accent but still readily intelligible.
4. Strong accent but rarely unintelligible.
5. Almost unintelligible.

[2] The following table summarizes the results (in mean scores) of the criterion-referenced and paired-comparison accentedness ratings:

Speakers	Paired-Comparison (N44)	Criterion-Reference (N92)
1	11.7	1.0109
2	9.3	1.6630
3	7.3	1.7174
4	6.6	1.9674
5	3.4	2.7826
6	2.4	3.1087
7	1.3	3.2391

The paired-comparison figures represent the mean number of times a speaker was chosen as more closely approximating "the usual American English pronunciation." There were 42 pairings. The criterion-reference scores are based on one response per subject on each of the seven speakers. The scores are based on the numbering of the criteria given in footnote 1.

[3] Note that the reading error was not discovered until the tape was transcribed phonetically. Presumably it might not have been noticed otherwise.

[4] We are grateful to Carmen de Neve, TESL graduate student, and Professor Peter Ladefoged of the UCLA Linguistics department for their assistance with this part of the research.

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THE EFFECTS OF A SUMMERTIME FRENCH IMMERSION EXPERIENCE ON THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH SPEECH OF A BILINGUAL CHILD*

Marianne Celce-Murcia

I. Introduction

Caroline, the child being studied is my daughter. Prior to her 2 1/2-month summer vacation in France, she had been acquiring English and French simultaneously, with English being the dominant language. Her father is a native speaker of French whereas I am a native speaker of English. She is an only child. An earlier study of Caroline's English and French language development is reported in Celce-Murcia (1977) and Celce-Murcia (forthcoming).

Samples of English and French speech were elicited and recorded at three different times:

Stage I: immediately preceding the trip to France at the end of June, 1976; age 3.8.
Stage 11: at the end of a 2 1/2-month stay in France in mid September, 1976; age 3.10 1/2.
Stage 111: after 2 1/2 months back in the U.S. at the end of November, 1976; age 4.1.

Three types of speech data were elicited:

1. Vocabulary - from an illustrated ABC book with 26 pictures, one for each letter of the alphabet
2. Structured narrative - cued by using a picture book illustrating the story of Goldilocks and the three bears, a story Caroline is passively familiar with in both languages.
3. Free Conversation - whatever Caroline was ready to talk about at the time.

II. General Development

1. Caroline was dominant in English before the vacation. She had a good passive understanding of French, and a certain amount of active French vocabulary. She went to France with her father in late June. I joined them 1 1/2 months later because I had to stay behind and coordinate a summer program for UCLA.

2. Her father and grandmother report that once totally immersed in French, Caroline did not speak much for one month. She observed, responded in monosyllables and then suddenly began to speak French with a lot of English vocabulary and syntax mixed in. By the time I arrived, her pronunciation had become perfectly French (based on the judgment of at least a dozen French monolingual adults). (This was often a source

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*This paper was presented at the First Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum, UCLA, February 13, 1977. I gratefully acknowledge the suggestions I received from my colleagues Evelyn Hatch and Diane Larsen-Freeman prior to the data collection and the subsequent helpful comments of Evelyn Hatch that permitted me to improve this written version of the paper. Any errors and omissions that remain are my responsibility.

of my getting teased. Everyone asked me why I couldn't pronounce French as well as my young daughter!) Another observation I made upon my arrival was that Caroline either could or would no longer speak English although she could still understand it. (This phenomenon was also true of Leopold's daughter, Hildegard.) Caroline had a little bit of contact with peers and with children older than herself during her vacation but was mainly with adults (grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, friends, neighbors, and even a great grandmother).

3. Upon return to the U.S. Caroline re-entered her English-language nursery school and continued to speak French for one month even though no one at school could understand her. It seemed to be enough that she could understand them.

4. After 2 1/2 months back in the U.S. English was once again dominant but French was much better, more active than before.

III. Vocabulary - The 26 pictures in the ABC book were supposed to elicit the following words:

Letter	English Word	French Word
A	an apple	une pomme
B	ballons	les ballons
C	(alarm) clock	le revéille
D	a doll	une poupée
E	eggs	les oeufs
F	flowers	les fleurs
G	a guitar	la guitare
H	a house	une maison
I	an insect (bug)	le cafard
J	a jar	une jarre
K	keys	les clefs
L	a lion	un lion
M	mittens	les mitaines, les gants
N	a newspaper	le journal
O	an owl	un hibou
P	paint	la peinture
Q	a quilt, blanket	une couverture
R	a rabbit, bunny	un lapin
S	shoes	les souliers
T	a telephone	le telephone
U	an umbrella	la parapluie

V	a vase	une vase
W	a window	une fenêtre
X	a xylophone	le xylophone
Y	yarn	un fil
Z	a zipper	une fermeture éclair

The taping sessions gave us data on vocabulary production that fall into five major categories.

1. Bilingual Maintenance (English/French distinction at all 3 stages)

   apple/une pomme; balloon/ballon; dolly/poupee; guitar/la guitare; house/une maison; ladybug/une coccinelle; telephone/(*la) telephone (correct article is le).

2. Patterns of Forgetting (the word is missing if the language is not dominant or present in Caroline's environment)

   a. English, Stage I; French, Stage II; English, Stage III.

      - flowers - les fleurs - flowers
      - a marble - une jarre - a marble (stimulus is a jar with a marble in it)
      - lion - une lionne - lion (gender switch)
      - a vase - *(une verre)-a vase (verre means 'glass' not 'vase' in French)

   b. Both languages, Stages I and III; French, Stage II

      - keys - les clefs

Note: for other information on 'forgetting' that focuses on English-speaking children in Spanish and French immersion situations respectively see Cohen (1975) and Ervin-Tripp (1973).

3. Patterns of Learning: (Progress toward bilingualism)

   a. English, Stage I; French, Stage II; Both Languages, Stage III

      - window/les fenêtres
      - egg/les oeufs
      - paint/la peinture
      - shoes/les souliers

   b. English, Stage I; Both Languages, Stages II and III

      - newspaper/journal
      - bird, owl/oiseau (stimulus is an owl)
      - rabbit, bunny/lapin

   c. Neither language at Stage I; French, Stage II; Both Languages, Stage III

      - blanket/couverture

   d. English at Stages I and II; Both Languages, Stage III

      - umbrella/parapluie (Stage I - umbulella)

I should like to digress here and note that rabbit/lapin (3b) really should have been in Category 1 -- "bilingual maintenance" but for some reason Caroline didn't produce lapin during the first taping. (She had a pet rabbit at the time and was well acquainted with both the English and the French word for identifying the rabbit.) This underscores the dilemma we face when we are working exclusively with performance data, i.e. we are at the mercy of the subject's lapses, whims, and perhaps occasional deliberate non-cooperation. I still feel these categories exhibit valid tendencies, but the assignment of a given item to a given category is at times questionable, and we should be aware of this problem continually and not treat the data as if they were the only and final truth.

4. Indications of English Dominance

   a. English word persists at all 3 stages

      - clock (stage II (E) elicited une clock)
      - zipper (stage II (F), French accent)

   b. Neither language at Stages I and II; English only at Stage III

      - mittens

Note that none of the 26 items shows a French form persisting at all three stages.

5. Absent Lexical Items at all Stages in both languages

   - xylophone
     (volunteered 'telephone' at Stage II (for E and F))
     (volunteered '*techopone' and 'leckophone' (for E) and '*monphone' (for F) at Stage III.)
   - yarn
     (volunteered 'jar' (E) at Stage II)

IV Summary of Narrative and Conversational Skills

		Stage I (3.8)	Stage II (3.10 1/2	Stage III (4.1)
NARRATIVE 'Goldilocks and the 3 bears'	ENGLISH	Caroline is weak. A great deal of prompting is needed to elicit a few words and phrases. She often digresses.	Caroline is poor in this area. Although she was prompted and cued in English, she used mostly French. The only exchange in English was: M: What did baby bear forget to do? C: Close the door. She often said: "je connais pas" (i.e. I don't know.)	Caroline does fairly well. With the pictures and some prompting, she can tell the story. No French was used. She got a bit tired and bored toward the end of the story.

	FRENCH	Caroline's narrative is virtually nil. Even though cued and questioned in French, she used only one French word chapeau 'hat.'	Cued in French, Caroline answers mainly with short phrases using a minimum of English. However, one English word, because, does persist.	Caroline's French narrative skill is fair. She said quite a lot about the story in French. She tended to use English at first on most responses, but when pressed, she could often produce the French.
FREE CONVERSATION	ENGLISH	Good. (No French is used in response to English cues.)	Very poor. She responds in French. What English occurs is used inadvertently and with a French accent. She no longer can (or refuses to) converse in English.	Good. She talked 15 minutes with native English competence but did use 3 French expressions! 'gentille' (nice) 'I am more fatiguée' (tired) 'I have mal au ventre' (a stomach ache)
	FRENCH	Weak. She understands French but answers using English most of the time.	Not bad. Her accent is definitely French. In some respects she is like a French child one year or so younger. In other areas English words and structures persist. Some English words mispronounced as if they were French are: bird zipper paint newspaper	She understands well and can respond fairly well. She has to be reminded frequently to speak French since English tends to come out first.

V. Samples of English Inference in Caroline's Seemingly Fluent French (end of Stage II)

Caroline's French syntax at Stage II bears no resemblance whatsoever to her developmental English syntax at age 2.4 (see Celce-Murcia, in press). She does, however, exhibit two developmental French errors: Overgeneralization of one of the two genders -- in her case, the feminine gender -- and use of the 'de' possessive construction with pronominal objects instead of the appropriate pre-nominal possessive adjective (see (b1) below).

There were four tendencies that Caroline had with regard to using English words and constructions that bear some strong resemblances to errors noted in Leopold's study of his daughter Hildegard at the age of 5.1 to 5.3.

a. Subject pronouns tend to remain English (see the samples below in (b), (c), and (d) also):

1. I mangé du poisson. (I ate some fish.)

b. Verbs and verb auxiliaries tend to remain English
1. Non. You are gonna put les zoris de toi.
   (No, you're gonna put on your zoris.)
2. I'm gonna appelle la police.
   (I'm gonna call the police.)
3. I'm gonna get un petit couteau.
   (I'm gonna get a little knife.)
4. I'm gonna raconte toi une histoire.
   (I'm gonna tell you a story.)
5. I wanna jouer avec toi.
   (I wanna play with you.)

c. Logical connectives (i.e. then & because) consistently remained English.
1. because he tapé la police sur la tête.
   (because he hit the policeman on the head.)
2. because he va manger l'ogre.
   (because he's gonna eat the ogre.)
3. then la police vient; then he . . .
   (French)
   (then the policeman comes; then he . . .)

d. Interference of an English construction
1. I am fatiguée (I am tired) French also uses Be (etre)
2. I am faim. (I am hungry)
3. I am soif. (I am thirsty) > French uses HAVE (avoir)

It has been suggested that the above samples are examples of code-switching. I do not believe this to be the case since it would have been impossible for Caroline to begin the sentences in French and end them in English. Also, the above data probably make Caroline's French look too fractured. She communicated fairly well with monolingual French speakers, who universally praised her perfect accent (For other examples of phonological acquisition of French by native English speakers see Ervin-Tripp (1973)).

When adults had minor difficulties comprehending Caroline, most of them would reconstruct, i.e. they would restate what they had understood her to mean and then ask her if that was what she had wanted to say. She learned a lot of French idioms and used them quite appropriately, producing them perfectly. (Perhaps these are pre-fabs or unanalyzed chunks):

E.G. Bon dieu, va. Il est fou! "By God, he's crazy!"
(a careless driver almost ran his car into us)

Mauvaise tête, Memée. "Bad memory, grandma"
(her grandmother had forgotten something for the picnic)

VI. Concluding Remarks

Caroline's dominant learning/communication strategy seems to be a relexification process--giving priority to mastery of nouns especially and also adjectives. (Some verbs and prepositions learned too.)

Something worth mentioning is development of an inter-language form /por/ that Caroline substitutes for both English for and French pour. The problem is not phonological since she can say the English number four and French poupée (doll) perfectly. Let me add that she has had no contact with Spanish speakers. To this day she is still saying this. This example has counterparts elsewhere, too. See Young (1974), who reports on a five-year-old Spanish speaker blending la and the into /lə/ where there was no exposure to French. The overall picture is one of progress regarding Caroline's bilingualism. More French immersion is needed since English is dominant and French may be forgotten except at the level of passive understanding if it is not necessary for Caroline to use French actively from time to time.

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Postscript: After having completed this written version of my paper, I was reminded by Roger Anderson of another case study dealing with a native English-speaking child learning French by immersion (in France):

Valette, R. M. (1964), "Some Reflections on Second-Language Learning in Young Children," Language Learning, Vol. XIV, Numbers 3 and 4, pp. 91-98.

Valette's study of her son, Jean-Michel--age range 3.3 to 4.0--contrasts with my studies of Caroline in a number of respects. (e.g. his lack of prior experience with French, his daily contact with French-speaking peers, his rather quiet introspective personality, the length of his French immersion experience, and his difficulties in acquiring an authentic French accent.) For those interested in such studies, however, the differences may be as interesting as the similarities. Leopold's daughter Hildegard definitely provides a more highly similar case study.

AN INITIAL STAGE IN A CHILD'S ACQUISITION OF GREEK AS HIS NATIVE LANGUAGE

Frances Butler Hinofotis*

The search for linguistic universals received a great deal of attention in language circles during the late sixties and early and mid-seventies. During the past decade the fervor among linguists over the possibility of underlying similarities in all natural languages has been great as they have closely examined numerous languages in addition to English. In the search for linguistic universals, the study of how children in various cultures learn their native languages is extremely important. The area of cross-cultural language acquisition in children is still in its infancy but the work to date seems promising. It was with the hope of shedding a small ray of light on the yet dim surface that this paper was undertaken.

In this paper I have attempted to analyze a language sample of an Athenian Greek child in terms of universal tendencies that seem to be present in his speech. That is, the child's speech at the stage discussed here shows several of the same kinds of language phenomena that other investigators have found in children who have languages other than Greek as their native tongue. The data were obtained by this investigator by mail from the child's mother, so first hand observations have not been possible. However, there is every reason to believe that the mother has not exaggerated in her description of her child's speech because she did not know that the information she sent was to be used for study.

The subject of the study presented in this paper is a young Greek boy by the name of Theodore Perdikakis. At the time the language samples were collected by the child's mother he was fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen months old. Theodore lived with his parents in an apartment above his grandparents' home in a suburb of Athens. His mother explained that he came in contact with eight people in the household all day long--his mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, an uncle, great-grandmother, great-grandfather, and the babysitter--and for this reason, she thought, his language facility was far in advance of other Greek children his age.

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*This paper is a working paper in the truest sense because there are several as yet unresolved problems of interpretation that must be cleared up before a really final draft of the paper can be prepared. Furthermore, because this paper was initially written several years ago and has laid dormant since, the bibliography and treatment of the literature need clearly to be updated. The justification, then, for submitting this manuscript for inclusion in this year's collection of workpapers is that virtually no reports of Greek child language studies appear in the literature. It seems worthwhile to make the data available for those who are concerned with cross-cultural child language acquisition. Evelyn Hatch has read the paper and made valuable suggestions for revisions. I am very grateful to her for her time and interest. I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to Marina Perdikakis, my Greek "sister," who unknowingly sent me the material for an introductory study of Greek child language acquisition. I hope that the final version of the paper will compensate for the admitted deficiencies of this version.

Before presenting an analytical study of Theodore's vocabulary it is appropriate to quote his mother as she discussed his language ability at seventeen months:

> With so many people around, taking care of him, he grows up to a very clever little creature but at the same time, very spoilt. You can imagine with 8 people, all day long, he knows many more things than any child of his age. You know, I'm not a silly mother (!) but, truly, he knows things that surprise you. He's 17 months old, not even one year and a half and he will tell all these things that you see on the paper since he was 15 and 16. These words (things) are words that he knows very well. He can use them and mean them. For instance he can tell you where is the telephone and if you ask him what's that, he tells you tilépoto (tiléfono). Still, I can't understand how children can learn so easily. They hear something, they put it in their mind and they can use it much later. It's amazing but very interesting to hear them saying many words, new words every day.
>
> Another thing that surprises you is how they can understand not things but abstract meaning such as
>
> -How are you? Very well.
> -Has your father come yet? Not yet.
> -Who are you? I.
>
> ...And he is all day long outside. He hates to enter the house. He keeps saying: Ohee méta (mésa), éto (ékso) "Not inside, outside." He knows all the names of our family and all the car owners of Voutsina Street beginning with Babá tutú, "Daddy's car." Of course, he's famous in all the grocery stores of Papagos, bakeries, butchers, etc., because he goes shopping every morning (Personal letter, April, 1971).

Though the reasons for Theodore's considerable vocabulary repertoire are not a part of the plan for this paper, it is worth mentioning that it is surely partly because of his daily interaction with so many adults that he had made so much language progress by sixteen months. Not having access to his language learning situation and not being able to observe him, it is, of course, unclear to what extent his verbal interchange with adults was constantly affecting his use of language. Nevertheless, we may speculate that it is very important for a child's language development that he get a great deal of feedback from those around him and possibly the more feedback a child receives as conversational exchange, the faster his language develops. McNeill claims that interaction between children's innate capacities and their linguistic experience occurs in the acquisition of transformations and it is here that parental speech must make its contribution (1970:1088). It can be suggested, however, that parental feedback plays an important role in child language development before the child actively begins to acquire transformations.

The discussion here is divided into two sections. The first examines the phonology of Theodore's language and considers the possible phonological universals present. The second examines his language with emphasis on syntax and semantics and again cites possible universals.

In all transcriptions Theodore's utterance appears first, then the adult word followed by the gloss.

Phonological analysis

In a provocative paper from MIT discussing child phonology, Kornfeld asks the basic theoretical questions - "Is the child's encoding system the same as the adult's or different?" "If different, how does it differ--and why?" - to get at the crucial issue of phonological acquisition: "What determines the child's representational system?" (1971:1).

Two hypotheses are offered as possible answers. The first, which Kornfeld calls the null hypothesis, maintains that "the adult system of phonological distinctions determines the child's system." That is, "the child perceives speech in terms of adult phonological distinctions, but he has motor problems in producing a phonetic copy of adult speech." There is simply a mismatch between perception and production. Kornfeld points out that the first hypothesis is the one adhered to in most previous developmental studies dealing with child language acquisition and has never been seriously questioned. She then questions the first hypothesis and proposes the second which she calls the alternative hypothesis: "The child perceives and produces in his own system, which need not bear a simple relationship to that of the adult" (1971:1).

In the discussion which follows, the null hypothesis gives rise to the question "How is the child's motor control imperfect?" There are two possible answers both of which prove to be untenable. One, a child's distortions are "due to random phonetic error" and, two, "constraints on a child's motor mechanisms limit him to producing features only in a certain way." The first answer which Kornfeld represents as Child Language = Adult Language + Phonetic Mistakes is unacceptable because child speech is regular even though it may differ from adult speech (1971:2). The second answer, Child Language = Adult Language + Rules, Kornfeld finds unacceptable because if children do actually learn an ordered set of phonological and phonetic rules, they should apply them where applicable. "Yet," she states, "there's little evidence in developmental studies for general application of rules. In certain contexts, children appear to encode structure in one way--in other contexts, in another way" (1971:2a).

Kornfeld presents convincing evidence to substantiate the unacceptability of the null hypothesis and I refer the reader to her text for details. For the purposes of this paper let us now look at the alternative hypothesis she proposes. There are two positions possible in considering that the child perceives in his own system. One, "the child's perceptual system is a subset of the adult's" and, two, "the child's perceptual system is not a subset of the adult's --he may hear speech in a different way, and may mark distinctions that the adult would not" (1971:3).

In position one, the child may actively select features from the adult set. Taking Kornfeld's example, with a word like SPIT, the initial consonant cluster can be represented as two bundles of distinctive features:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Seg. 1} & \qquad & \text{Seg. 2} \\ \text{"s"} & & \text{"p"} \\ \begin{bmatrix} X_1 \\ \vdots \\ X_n \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} Y_1 \\ \vdots \\ Y_n \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

The child can then select whichever features he chooses to represent the adult model. Thus, as Kornfeld points out, "At an early stage, say up to 3 yrs., the child selects certain features of both segments:

CHILD'S SELECTION OF ADULT FEATURES

$$\begin{array}{cc} \text{Seg. 1} & \text{Seg. 2} \\ \begin{bmatrix} X_1 \\ X_2 \\ X_3 \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} Y_1 \\ Y_2 \\ Y_3 \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

and the child's (phonological) representation for the cluster is then described as $\begin{bmatrix} X_1 \\ Y_2 \\ Y_3 \end{bmatrix}$ " (1971:5).

Position two would handle the child's selection and representation the same way except that the child is also allowed to mark features not in the adult representation.

The major complication of the alternative hypothesis at once presents itself. The answer must be found to the question: Why are only certain features chosen by the child and in what order, if any, does the acquisition of these features take place? Perhaps there is a "feature hierarchy" of acquisition which allows the child to produce features only after he is able to perceive them distinctively. In other words, his perception is an accumulative process gradually becoming more acute.

Both positions of the alternative hypothesis stress that a child's speech production differs from that of an adult only to a small degree because of motor problems. Position one equates the child's features with an adult subset. Position two does not equate the child's features with the adult's but makes the stronger claim that the child may mark distinctions not present in the adult system. Kornfeld concludes that the evidence gathered in her pilot study with thirteen 1 1/2 - 2 1/2 year-old children suggests that children of that age "do not produce the same distinctions as adults, but they selectively abstract from the adult set of features" (1971:10). She further maintains that the data support the alternative hypothesis but more perceptual testing must be done before a choice can be made between positions one and two (1971:10).

The key, then, to the Kornfeld hypothesis is in how the child actually perceives the speech sounds around him. Do all children regardless of the language/or languages they are exposed to perceive the raw material, i.e., abstract the distinctive sounds, in the same way? It is useful now to compare a Greek child's performance to the performance of Kornfeld's subjects.

In considering Theodore's vocabulary in light of the Kornfeld paper, there are some interesting observations to be made. First it should be pointed out that Theodore's mother was surely hearing her child's utterances in terms of her own adult distinctions. Nevertheless, it is useful to consider the imperfect (according to adult standards) speech patterns that she noted in her son's language. Very few of the child's utterances were accepted by the mother as good models of adult speech. Several utterances that seem to this investigator incomprehensibly different from the adult word must have been understood by the mother through the context of the situation. In such cases it is perhaps questionable that the child actually possessed a vocabulary item as the mother suggests.

Kornfeld discusses the /l,r,w/ alternation in clusters she found with her English speaking 18-24 months old children. She points out that adults when listening to the children tended to collapse the /l,r/ distinction into /w/, but that the spectrogram actually showed that the children were making a distinction. For example, an adult would collapse two acoustically distinct child utterances such as g(r) and g(l) into g(w).

In Theodore's speech there seemed to be a similar phenomenon occurring--a pseudo /l,r/ alternation. In the samples I have there is no /w/ present but in many instances calling for /r/ in adult speech Theodore either substituted /l/ or dropped the /r/ entirely. At fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen months, then, Theodore did not possess the adult /r/ as part of his phonological inventory possibly because, as Kornfeld's work would suggest, he was not making the same distinction between liquids that an adult makes. Whereas Kornfeld's subjects, slightly older than Theodore, possessed consonant clusters in their utterances, Theodore did not at the time the samples were taken. It is valid to speculate in light of the Kornfeld study, however, that the /l/ Theodore produced in positions calling for an adult /l/ may have been acoustically different from the /l/ produced in positions calling for an adult /r/. If so, position two of the alternative hypothesis, that the child perceives and produces distinctions not marked by the adult system, would be supported.

In the following examples it seemed to Theodore's mother that he was substituting an adult /l/ for an adult /r/:

Theodore's speech	adult word	gloss
pepéli	pepéri	"pepper"
lolói	rolói	"watch"
kelí	kerí	"candle"
tetéli	Leftéris	"Lefteris" (his uncle's name)
tilí	tirí	"cheese"
lóla	róda	"wheel"
kalóti	karótsi	"wagon"

In the following examples the /r/ was dropped. Note that it was dropped only in positions where keeping it would have constituted a cluster within one syllable or across syllable boundaries.

Theodore's speech	adult word	gloss
póta	pórta	"door"
kati	krasí	"wine"
kéma	kréma	"cream"
máka	márka	"brand"
kuvéta	kuvérta	"blanket"

He did the same with /l/:

Theodore's speech	adult word	gloss
káte	káltses	"socks"
ékite	éklise	"he closed"

In the following he did yet another thing and substituted a sound other than /l/ for /r/:

kamaméla	karaméla	"candy"
katóto	karóto	"carrot"
manína	marína	"Marina" (his mother's name)

In these examples it appears that he substituted the next immediate consonant for /r/. It may well be that at the age of seventeen months, he was only able to attend to a limited number of the phonological features in processing the language he heard. He may indeed have been selecting only a portion of the adult features or, as suggested above, he may simply have been making distinctions other than those adults make.

Kornfeld's subjects possessed both strident and non-strident clusters though they had noticeably more difficulty producing strident clusters. She points out:

> Even when a given child could produce all non-strident clusters correctly, he still had notable problems with the strident ones. Even when a child could produce strident singleton-C's, as the /s/ in SEE, he still failed to produce a comparable /s/ in a 2-C sequence like SKI. For /s/-stop clusters, like SPOT, STOP, SCOTT, the "s" appeared as hi-freq., fricative noises on spectrograms... In transcription the "cluster-s" was not heard as a full segment, but rather as "noisy onset" to the following stop (1971:9).

Although Theodore did not yet produce any clusters there was a regularity in his failing to produce strident clusters in that he consistently omitted the strident segment of the cluster as Kornfeld's subjects "seemed" to do. For example, in ST, SP, and SK clusters, Theodore simply omitted the initial "s":

tóma	stóma	"mouth"
píti	spíti	"house"
kúpa	skúpa	"broom"
kiláki	skiláki	"little dog"

In the case of another initial strident cluster where the strident segment was second, Theodore also omitted the "s":

patíli	pslíði	"scissors"

Because of the lack of first hand observation, it is unknown whether or not a true phonetic transcription would have indicated a "noisy onset" as in the Kornfeld study, and it is further unknown what a spectrogram reading would have shown. Nevertheless, the regularity pointed out is significant. It is also significant to note that "s" did not appear in Theodore's speech as a single consonant initially, finally, or medially, with the single exception of the word bótes, "boot". Final "s" is frequent in Greek because most masculine singular nominative case nouns and the modifying adjectives end in "s". Theodore's failure to produce "s" initially, as in totoláta, sokoláta, "chocolate"; finally, as in fó, fós, "light"; and medially, as in méta, mésa, "inside"; i.e., the complete absence of "s" in his phonological inventory, bears on the notion of "feature hierarchy". Kornfeld makes a similar observation with regard to her subjects' difficulty with strident clusters.

> If order of acquisition corresponds to place on hierarchy, stridency was the last distinction to be acquired by our subjects as well as by those of other studies (Smith, 1970). Stridency also ranks last in the S.P.E. feature system (Chomsky and Halle, 1968). If our speculations are right, the posited S.P.E. hierarchy would be supported (1971:9).[1]

Jakobson states that phonemes that are relatively rare among the languages of the world such as /θ/ are the last phonemes acquired by children exposed to languages containing them (McNeill 1970:1133). Theodore's phonological repertoire seems to bear this out. Let us consider the phonemic system of Modern Greek (see Chart 1) with regard to the sounds Theodore was producing at seventeen months.

The data show that Theodore was consistently producing all of the stop phonemes, voiced and voiceless, with the exception of the voiced velar stop /g/. His vocabulary does not show lexical items that contain /g/ so there is no basis for concluding that he could or could not produce the sound. It is likely, however, on the basis of phonological symmetry that he could both perceive and produce the sound.

Stop phonemes in Theodore's speech:

/p/	pató	paltó	"coat"
/b/	babáka	babá	"Daddy"
/t/	katóto	karóto	"carrot"
/d/	dánda	tsánda	"purse"
/k/	kéma	kréma	"cream"

Theodore used both of the nasal phonemes:

/m/	mamáka	mamá	"Mommy"
/n/	apúni	sapúni	"soap"

The liquids /r/ and /l/, discussed above, were not both a part of his phonological inventory at seventeen months. The single lateral /l/ appeared consistently in adult /l/ environments in Theodore's speech except in clusters where it was omitted. Further, it was often substituted for other phonemes not yet acquired.

The fricatives in general were either not present or were part of a transitional phenomenon appearing in some environments and not in others. The alveolar voiceless fricative /s/, discussed at length above, did not appear in Theodore's speech at all; nor did its voiced counterpart /z/.

Further, the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ do not appear in the data as

CONSONANTS

manner of articulation		bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	velar	point of articulation
Stops:	vl	p			t	k	
	vd	b			d	g	
Fricatives:	vl		f	θ	s	x	
	vd		v	ð	z	g	
Nasals:		m			n		
Liquids:							
flaps, trills					r		
laterals					l		
Semi-Vowels:					y		

VOWELS		front		central	back
	high	i			u
	mid		e		o
	low			a	

STRESS /'/ strong
/ / weak

Chart 1. The phonemic system of Modern Greek

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

part of his speech at seventeen months.

/θ/	lololáki	θoðoráki	"Theodoraki" (little Theodore)
/ð/	lóla	róða	"wheel"

The labio-dental and velar fricatives were part of the transitional phenomenon. The labio-dental fricatives were present in some utterances and replaced in others by the bilabial stop with the corresponding voicing feature.

/f/	fó	fós	"light"
	tilépoto	tiléfono	"telephone"
/v/	vúta	vúrtsa	"brush"
	balíta	valítsa	"suitcase"

The velar fricatives /x/ and /g/ present an interesting situation. The voiceless sound appears in transition though its voiced counterpart clearly was not yet a part of Theodore's speech.

/x/	maxéli	maxaíri	"knife"
	téni	xténi	"comb"
/g/	avó	avgó	"egg"
	ála	gála	"milk"

The five vowel phonemes, /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, all appeared in the subject's speech at seventeen months as did the semi-vowel /y/.

Stress is phonemic in Greek but it is impossible to ascertain from the data if the child was using stress functionally. The data show all stress marks corresponding between the child's utterances and the adult words.

The data indicate that by seventeen months Theodore was in command of a large part of the phonological system of the Greek language. Further investigation would have to show if his achievement was average or above average among Greek children. The limited data on which this paper is based show definitely that Theodore acquired certain sounds earlier than others and that those sounds which were not yet present correspond to the sounds that were the last to be acquired in the speech of Kornfeld's English speaking subjects.

Syntactic and semantic analysis

The data suggest that at seventeen months Theodore was going through a transition from the holophrastic to the two-word stage of speech. He had a vocabulary of about 120 single word utterances, many of which his mother said he had been using since fifteen months. In addition, he was beginning to clearly combine words--usually two, sometimes three or four--according to his child grammar. Let us examine in detail how Theodore was manipulating language at the time the data were collected.

Slobin points out that the cross-cultural studies in child language acquisition to date indicate that syntax comes before morphology in that "children combine words before they isolate and make use of such devices as prefixes and suffixes" (1969:4). With regard to the use of suffixes, Theodore's speech showed an interesting phenomenon. To all words naming a person he knew, he attached the suffix ka as in the examples below:

mamáka	"Mommy"
babáka	"Daddy"
papúka	"Granddaddy"
yayáka	"Grandmother"

Ka seemed to be functioning in the cases cited as an affectionate ending. Modern Greek does contain the diminutive, affectionate suffix áki which is in frequent use in everyday adult speech. In fact, Theodore's mother indicated that those around him called Theodore, Theodoráki, which is the usual way of referring to a young child in Greece. It could be that Theodore was perceiving the diminutive suffix according to his own phonological system and thus produced ka instead of áki. About this point one can only speculate because further investigation is needed to see if most Greek children add an affectionate suffix, perhaps ka, to the names of familiar people or if this was a phenomenon peculiar to the subject of this study.

As early as seventeen months the possessive was a syntactic feature in Theodore's speech. As stated in his mother's letter in the introduction, Theodore knew all of the car owners on the street where they live:

babá tutú	"Daddy car"
eléni tutú	"Eleni car"
kananína tutú	"Mr. Nina car"
tetéli tutú	"Lefteri car"

This is the same word order that Lois Bloom (1968) found in English speaking children for the genitive case. Ex: "daddy hat".

As I interpret the data it appears that at the two-word stage Theodore did not change the positions of the words when indicating possession. In other words, a two word utterance such as tutú babá to show possession would have been ungrammatical according to his grammar at that stage. However, he did shift the word order in longer utterances and it is unclear on the basis of the data how the shift should be interpreted. There are two possibilities; 1) the change in position indicated location rather than possession and, 2) the change indicated that Theodore was adjusting to the adult system for possession. Possibility (2), however, seems highly unlikely for a child of seventeen months.

The data show that Theodore said tutú babá páme áta, literally, "car Daddy we go walk." (In Modern Greek people speak of a walk with the car rather than a ride in the car as in English.) The first interpretation would yield a reading something like "Daddy's in the car. Let's go for a ride." Interpretation (2), would give us something like "There's Daddy's car. Let's go for a ride," or "Let's go for a ride in Daddy's car." Interpretation (1) seems the most likely at first glance because a child's language is grammatical according to his system. Interpretation (2) would suggest that Theodore was uttering an ungrammatical string by changing the word order of the possessive elements. There is, however, a complication in the data.

Before examining it let us consider first that to show possession in Modern Greek both the person or thing possessed and the person or thing doing the possessing take specific endings for the genitive case, a genitive case article, and the word order must be such that the object precedes the possessor. For example:

tó krasí tú babá tu "His father's wine"
literally: the wine of father his

The adult word order for possession, then, is just the opposite of the word order used by Theodore at the early two-word stage of the data collection.

Returning to the data, Theodore said katí babá tu for which his mother gave the adult equivalent tó krasí tú babá tu, "his father's wine." This utterance of Theodore's is more easily interpreted as a possessive but it follows the same word order as the utterance above which might be interpreted as a locative. If we accept that in both utterances Theodore was showing possession then perhaps as early as seventeen months his initial rules handling word order were changing and moving in the direction of an adult Greek grammar.

The fact that a child who is exposed to a language that follows a given word order for a particular syntactic relationship, may regularize his child grammar at the two-word stage to another word order is a strong argument for innate universals.

Russian studies have shown that the grammatical structure of early two-word sentences of Russian children are strikingly similar to those of English speaking children. Slobin points out that "word order is quite inflexible at each of the early stages of syntactic development, although one might have predicted that Russian children, being exposed to a great variety of word orders, would first learn the morphological markers for such classes as subject, object, and verb, and combine them in any order" (1966:135). We might have predicted the same for Greek children since, like Russian, the Greek language is highly inflected and allows relatively free word order. "However, in both English- and Russian-speaking children grammar begins with unmarked forms, arrayed in a fixed order" (Slobin 1966:135). We may suggest on the basis of the limited data discussed in this paper that the same is true with Greek speaking children.

Since word order in Greek is not as binding as word order in English it would be an important focus for further research with Greek child language to see to what extent a child enforces strict word order initially in his use of language and then at what point he relaxes his early constraints to fit the relatively free word order of Greek.

The problem of interpretation cited above illustrates how important context is to understanding and interpreting child language. Slobin points out that before a child develops such devices as adult word order and inflections, nonlinguistic context is necessary in order for the child utterances to be interpreted. The utterances are therefore not strictly "syntactic," i.e., they are not interpretable on linguistic grounds alone. Slobin states that "one must be present on the scene to know that 'daddy hat' means 'daddy's hat' and not 'daddy is wearing a hat'" (1969:6). This is precisely the problem with Theodore's utterance tutú babá páme áta. It cannot be interpreted out of context. Relative to the importance of context in interpreting child utterances, Kornfeld discusses the weaknesses of diary data:

> ...Single words are taken out of context; the child's behavior during speech often goes unnoted; there are usually no behavioral controls to allow comparison of one utterance with another (1971:7).

Indeed many of her criticisms are valid and I admit to the weaknesses of the data analyzed here. However, I hasten to point out that in recording utterances a mother, for example, relies heavily on the extralinguistic context of the utterances and it would be a mistake to disregard how a mother interprets her child's language, especially when the child is a first child as in Theodore's case and is getting constant attention.

Theodore's mother pointed out in the portion of the letter quoted above, that by seventeen months the child was not just naming objects but could understand and respond to abstract ideas. The data show the following examples:

Question	Theodore's reply
tí horévis? "What are you dancing?"	dadadá "dirladá" (name of a dance)
tí sú káni i mamá? "What is your mother doing to you?"	bányo "bath"
tí píni i mamá? "What is your mother drinking?"	kafé "coffee"
tí píni o babás? "What is your father drinking?"	katí "wine" (krasi)
pós káni tó skiláki? "What noise does the little dog make?"	yáo "bow wow" (?)

Theodore was able to answer the preceding question about a cat, duck, lamb, and bird, and gave a different sound for each animal. Extensive testing would have been necessary to show whether Theodore actually understood the various concepts he was answering to or whether he was simply conditioned to respond to the questions.

The data also show that he asked the question pú mamáka, pú ínai i mamá, "Where is Mother?" and made such statements as ínai níta, ínai níkta, "It is night," and ékite póta, éklise tí pórta, "He closed the door." Again, however, the data are too limited to make any generalizations about Theodore's language ability regarding questions and past tense. Single examples are not substantial evidence upon which to base any claims.

In conclusion, while the data discussed in this paper were obtained second hand an could, therefore, not be tested, an opportunity was offered to examine previously unstudied linguistic material dealing with child language acquisition. Nothing reported here is conclusive but it is hoped that the study does suggest some specific aspects of Greek child language development that may very well lend support to the theory of linguistic universals.

FOOTNOTE

1. Kornfeld cites: Smith, N.V. (1970) *The Acquisition of Phonology,* unpublished Doctoral dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and Chomsky, N. and M. Halle (1968) *The Sound Patterns of English,* New York: Harper and Row.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE FALL 1975 APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION TO AUC

J. Donald Bowen

In early September of 1975, 688 applicants for admission for the fall term to the American University in Cairo were given the regular battery of tests required of all new students. This battery consists of the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency, which includes subtests on grammar, vocabulary, and reading. The battery also includes the Michigan Test of Listening Comprehension and a composition test which is locally set.

Admissions decisions are made on the basis of the composite score for these tests. A student who scores 80 or above (82 or above since 1976) is admitted directly into the freshman class of the university, where he is offered instruction in the Freshman Writing Clinic that will help him perfect the skills, mainly with the written language, that will be required in his academic program. Applicants who score from 60-79 (62-81 since 1976) are offered admission to the English Language Institute where they will be given intensive language training (5 hours per day for 5 days per week) for one or two or three terms, up to a maximum of one calendar year. At the end of each term they are retested to see if they can meet the requirement of 80 (82 since 1976) or better and thus pass into the regular university program. Border line applicants, who score 55-59 (60-61 since 1976), may be admitted if they can present acceptably high scores in the Thanawiyya Amma, the comprehensive school-leaving examination required of all graduating students of Egyptian secondary schools. The relevant rule is that the combined Thanawiyya Amma score (TA) and Admissions Battery (AB) score must be 130 (140 from 1976), which means an AB score of 59 would be admitted with a TA score of 71 or better, an AB score of 58 with a TA score of 72 or better, ect. to an AB score of 55 with a TA socre of 75 or better. Those applicants who do not have at least 55 on the Admissions Battery and those scoring from 55 to 59 who do not have compensating high TA scores are rejected.

The September 1975 administration of the test also included an experimental integrative grammar test as a research caboose. The results of these tests and comparisons in performance between tests are reported in an article which has appeared in the RELC Journal (December 1976). The present report consists of additional information which was gathered at the time the Admissions Battery was administered. Performance means are presented for various demographic categories.

The first of these categories was the age of the applicant at the time the test was taken. This information was gathered to find out if some applicants are over-age and possibly have taken the admissions test more than once. It turned out that only 11 applicants were 20 years or over (though data for 274 applicants was unavailable). The bulk of the applicants (363) were in the age bracket 16-19. No useful pattern emerged.

The second category considered was sex. 301 of the applicants were male, 330 female, and 17 unknown. The females were consistenly and substantially better than the males in all categories. Sample scores illustrate this:

	Admissions Battery	Integrative Grammar Test	Thanawiyya Amma
Female	72.7	33.3	78.7
Male	69.0	23.9	73.0

The third demographic category was the type of secondary school which the applicant attended. Information is unavailable for 278 applicants. 126 attended government schools, 153 attended private language schools where English was the medium, and 60 attended private language schools where French was the medium. Other categories such as German language schools located outside of Egypt, national institutes, and others never exceed more than about a dozen applicants, and are therefore not reported.

Results are somewhat mixed. The English language schools have the best performance on the Michigan Test and the experimental grammar test, but the French language schools are best on the Thanawiyya Amma. Applicants from government schools score slightly but not significantly higher than applicants from French language schools on the grammar test.

	Michigan Test	IGT	TA
English Language schools	70.5	28.8	78.4
French Language schools	63.0	27.3	81.1

It is interesting to note that unlike most other categories the intervals between groups are higher for the traditional than for the experimental tests. English Language schools apparently provide the best training for the skills measured in the Michigan test. French Language schools excel in general education, reflected in the TA scores. But there is very little difference in scores for the innovative IGT. One could suspect that the language schools (a mixed form of private-public education -- they are fee-paying schools, which regular government schools are not), concerned with their reputation for academic excellence, may be teaching for the tests.

The next category is the stream applicants followed in their secondary school program. Data is unavaliable for 279 applicants. 121 were in the arts stream and 248 in the science stream. The general consensus for all Egyptian schools is that the science stream attracts the best students, though some observers claim this is true only for science subjects. The science stream is nevertheless the prestige category of secondary education. In any case, the reported superiority of science stream students does not appear among applicants for admission to AUC. The arts students are consistently better.

	AB	IGT	TA
Arts	72.2	38.5	80.9
Science	69.1	26.6	75.1

Apparently the best science students in the country must enroll at the national universities, not at AUC.

The next category is years of formal study of English. One would expect that the more years that have been devoted to the study of English, the better the scores that would result. In part this category duplicates the category which reports the kind of secondary school attended, since English Language schools normally offer 12 years of English where government schools offer only 6. The breakdown of the category is 1-3 years, which is not represented in the listing below because only six students were in this group; 4-6 years: 90 students; 7-10 years: 77 students; 11 or more years: 195. Data for 280 is unavailable. The results show an erratic pattern. The integrative grammar test and the admissions battery pattern as one would predict, though the intervals are surprisingly close in the admissions battery. In the Thanawiyya Amma the 7-10 group outperforms the 11+ group.

	AB	IGT	TA
4-6	66.9	14.5	73.2
7-10	68.2	32.6	79.2
11+	71.6	36.7	77.7

Apparently experience in studying English is not a reliable index of performance on the more general Thanawiyya Amma test. However, if we look at the English Subtest of the Thanawiyya Amma, we find the same sequence:

	English Subtest
4-6	68.8
7-10	85.6
11+	82.9

This is difficult to explain. Could it be that extensive training tends to make students go stale?

The next category concerns the years of additional contact with English beyond formal education. The groups are unknown: 275 applicants; no additional contact: 318 applicants; 1-2 years: 35 applicants; 3-5 years: 8 applicants; 6 or more years: 12 applicants. The last two groups are probably too small to produce reliable data. The Admissions Battery and the grammar test show close correlation, though Admissions Battery scores are rather close to each other. The Thanawiyya Amma seems erratic in this category:

	AB	IGT	TA
None	69.8	28.5	76.6
1-2	71.1	39.0	80.4
3-5	73.8	40.7	74.1
6+	81.2	45.8	77.9

The English Subtest of the Thanawiyya Amma is similarly unpredictable:

	English Subtest
None	79.2
1-2	84.9
3-5	84.2
6+	77.3

The next category involves nationality. A very large percentage of the applicants are of course Egyptian. There were so few other applicants that it doesn't seem useful to attempt any generalizations.

The next category is native language. Again a predominant majority consists of native speakers of Arabic. Other languages are represented so sparsely that comparisons are meaningless.

The next category refers to the date the Thanawiyya Amma was taken. This question was included in the demographic questionnaire in case there were substantial numbers of applicants who had taken the Thanawiyya Amma at some earlier time. As the category for age shows, this was not so. Available data indicate that only one applicant took the Thanawiyya Amma before 1975. This is of course insufficient information to draw any conclusions from, except to say that unsuccessful candidates do not seem to try for admission at a subsequent date.

The next category refers to the governorate from which the applicants come. There was no information available on 289 applicants; 302 come from Cairo and 24 from Giza, which is in effect part of the Cairo metropolitan area; 13 come from Alexandria. (Other governorates had only 1 to 4 applicants!) On this limited data it appears that applicants from Cairo are clearly superior. The data are as follows:

	AB	IGT	TA
Cairo	71.2	31.4	77.6
Giza	60.7	31.9	71.3
Alexandria	63.2	15.5	74.9

Cairo applicants produce higher scores on the Admissions Battery and the Thanawiyya Amma, with Giza edging ahead on the Integrative Grammar Test. The big surprise is the relatively poor showing of Alexandria applicants on the Integrative Grammar Test, with less than half of the points earned by either Cairo or Giza applicants. This low performance of Alexandria applicants is confirmed by the English Subtest of the Thanawiyya Amma, in which Giza applicants again surpass Cairo:

	English Subtest
Cairo	80.1
Giza	84.3
Alexandria	73.3

The next category refers to the availability of Thanawiyya Amma scores. When these scores are available they are presented to the American University, which requires 65 (70 since 1976) or better as a qualification to sit for the Admissions Battery. But quite a number of applicants present other evidence of secondary school performance, particularly the GCE or General Certificate of Education, a test administered by the British Council. It turns out that these students perform very much better than the applicants who present Thanawiyya Amma scores.

	AB	IGT	TA
Thanawiyya Amma	69.1	26.4	75.7
Other Qualifying Scores (GCE)	82.1	51.6	--

As this evidence shows, applicants who provide other than Thanawiyya Amma scores are consistently and considerably higher in the Admissions Battery and in the Integrative Grammar Test.

The last category describes the admissions action. 110 students were accepted directly into the Freshman year of the regular university program, which means they got scores on the Admissions Battery of 80 or above. 190 students were offered admission to the English Language Institute where they could study English intensively to make up the language deficiency with the understanding that they would be offered regular admission if and when they were able to get a score of 80 or better on a re-test. 327 students were rejected, which means they had scores of 59 or lower. The Admissions Battery scores are therefore predictable, but it is interesting to look at the corresponding scores for the Integrative Grammar Test and the Thanawiyya Amma.

	AB	IGT	TA
Direct Admission	85.9	64.9	84.0
English Language Institute	67.1	36.1	79.8
Rejected	51.8	12.6	71.5

As has occurred with most other categories, the Integrative Grammar Test separates levels at much wider intervals than either the Admissions Battery or the Thanawiyya Amma. It may be interesting to look at two other sets of scores from groups designated by the admissions action: the English and Arabic Subtests of the Thanawiyya Amma:

	English Subtest	Arabic Subtest
Direct Admission	89.4	65.1
English Language Institute	86.7	64.9
Rejected	68.8	61.1

The English Subtest separates the direct admission from the English Language Institute by less than 3 points. The Arabic Subtest separates them by less than .2 of a point. From this evidence it would seem that the English Subtest of the Thanawiyya Amma does not correlate very well with the Admissions Battery or the Integrative Grammar Test. Data from the Arabic Subtest are cited as typical of all the categories. Performance is considerably lower (25 percentage points) for the group that passed; the test typically does not discriminate groups by substantial intervals. The correlation figures for these tests are very low. While there is no reason to think that students good in English should necessarily also be good in Arabic, it is rather surprising to see just how far they diverge.

The data seem to indicate that the overall Thanawiyya Amma scores, while they generally follow the pattern of the Admissions Battery and the Integrative Grammar Test, are not as clear and decisive in distinguishing groups as either of the other measures. Perhaps there is no reason to think they should do so, since they are a measure of general academic achievement not limited to performance on a language test. For this very reason, it may be reasonable to include such scores in a consideration for decisions on admission to an academic program in an institution of higher learning. If the student has a record of academic success, there is reason to assume he will continue that record.

But the situation may be markedly changed when future academic success depends on the successful use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction. Even a superior past record cannot guarantee future success if the channels of communication are not functioning freely. Further research is needed to help determine the most useful ratio of predictive validity. Until further studies determine the predictive quality of Thanawiyya Amma scores, judgment should probably be reserved on its value in the admissions procedure. This research should be encouraged on a priority basis at AUC.

SOME PHONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC (CAIRENE DIALECT)

Ali Ezzat Osman

It is not always the case that a type of error in foreign language learning may be accounted for by reference to the mother-tongue of the learner. In vocabulary, for example, difficulties may be explained by wrong choice of lexical items either by transferring certain lexical items from one register to another, or by wrong collocation (habitual association of words). In grammar an error may be due to an overgeneralization of a rule in the foreign language itself. But "transfer of mother-tongue forms seems far more complete in pronunciation than in grammar."[1]

The following contrastive analysis between British English and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic speech phenomena is based on attested difficulties observed over a period of twenty-seven years of teaching English as a foreign language to Egyptian students at all levels: preparatory, secondary and university levels. It is not based on prediction of errors, but on the analysis of actual errors. I agree with Wilkins: "Contrastive analysis should be carried out to provide a linguistic explanation for known errors rather than as a predictive procedure."[2]

British English is the variety chosen for contrast with Egyptian Arabic for this variety has been taught in the Egyptian schools and higher institutes since British occupation. In the 1960's a number of Egyptian linguists wrote a series of texts (*Living English*) based on American English for the preparatory stage and the first grade of the secondary stage. But in 1976 the Inspectorate of English in Cairo announced that this series became outdated and a new series (S. Allen's *Progressive Living English for the Arab World*) based on British English was prescribed on an experimental basis. This series will replace the older series completely in the school year 1978-79.

Reading conventions for transcribed Egyptian Arabic forms are as follows:

Consonants:

/b/	voiced bilabial plosive
/d/	voiced denti-alveolar plosive, non-emphatic
/f/	voiceless labio-dental fricative
/g/	voiced velar plosive
/h/	glottal fricative
/ḥ/	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
/k/	voiceless velar plosive
/l/	voiced denti-alveolar lateral
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
/n/	voiced denti-alveolar nasal
/r/	voiced alveolar flap
/rr/	voiced alveolar trill
/s/	voiceless denti-alveolar sulcal fricative, non-emphatic
/ʃ/	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
/t/	voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, non-emphatic
/w/	labio-velar semi-vowel
/x/	voiceless uvular fricative
/y/	voiced palatal semi-vowel
/z/	voiced denti-alveolar sulcal fricative
/ʔ/	glottal plosive
/ɛ/	voiced pharyngeal fricative
/ɣ/	voiced uvular fricative

Emphatic Consonants

/ḍ/, /ṣ/, /ṭ/, /ẓ/ are 'emphatic' consonants corresponding to 'non-emphatic' /d/, /s/, /t/, /z/ respectively. The 'emphatics' are distinguished from the 'non-emphatics' by the following features:

1. the tongue is laterally expanded and its front part is low, whereas in the articulation of the 'non-emphatics' the tongue is laterally contracted and its front part is rather high in the mouth, i.e. raised towards the hard palate.
2. relatively greater muscular tension in the tongue as compared with laxness of articulation associated with the 'non-emphatics'.
3. neutral or slightly rounded and protruded lip-position in contrast with the spread position in 'non-emphatic' articulation.

Vowels

/i/	half-close to close front spread vowel, close when long or final
/u/	half-close back to central rounded vowel, close rounded when long or final
/e/	mid to half-close front spread vowel, short and long
/o/	mid to half-close back rounded vowel, short and long
/a/	front open vowel, short and long
/ɑ/	back open vowel, usually associated with the 'emphatic' consonants and the trill consonant /rr/

Symbols used:

Long vowels are indicated by (:).

Geminated consonants are indicated by doubling the consonant letter. They are pronounced longer and are more tensely articulated than their single counterparts.

Elisions at word-junctions are marked by (-), but the hyphen does not necessarily mark the place at which the elided portion occurs in corresponding contexts of non-elision.

An asterisk (*) shows that the form does not actually occur in the concerned language.

The main phonological differences between British English and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (henceforth referred to as ECA) may be described under the following headings:

1. Consonants
2. Vowels and Diphthongs
3. Stress and Rhythm
4. Intonation

1. Consonants

i. Plosives

/p/ This voiceless bilabial plosive is not included in the inventory of Egyptian Arabic consonants. This may account for common errors like */beibə/ for /peɪpə/, */ba:dn/ for /pa:dn/ and */bɑ:t/ for /pɑ:t/. This is also due to the fact that there is no contrast between aspirated and non-aspirated plosive consonants in ECA. But it may be noticed that Egyptian students find little or no difficulty in pronouncing /p/ in final consonant clusters in which /p/ is followed by a voiceless alveolar plosive as in /lept/ (leapt) and /kept/ (kept). ECA /b/ has a voiceless allophone [p] before the denti-alveolar voiceless plosive consonant /t/, e.g. /sapt/ (Saturday), /gept/ (I brought/got) and /kapt/ (repression). We may also add that the two ECA plosives /t/ and /d/ are distinguished from English plosives by their place of articulation. The two Arabic plosives are denti-alveolar, whereas the two English plosives /t/ and /d/[3] are alveolar.

ii. Fricatives

/ə/ and /ð/ These voiceless and voiced dental fricatives do not occur in ECA speech although they are used in the recital of Classical Arabic. They are often replaced in ECA by /s/ and /z/ respectively, e.g. /sarwa/ (wealth) instead of Classical Arabic /θarwa/; /ƫaza:b/ (torture) instead of /ƫaða:b/ and so on. Thus, Egyptian students may substitute English /θ/ by /s/, and /ð/ by /z/ in, e.g. /sin/ for /θin/, /siŋk/ for /θiŋk/, /zis/ for /ðis/ and /bri:z/ for /bri:ð/.

/v/ and /ʒ/ The voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ occurs in ECA in loan-words such as /no:vi/ (brand new), /bulo:var/ (pull-over) and /tilivizyo:n/ (television). Still, /v/ may occur as a voiced allophone of Arabic /f/ when followed by the voiced denti-alveolar plosive /d/ or the voiced denti-alveolar sulcal fricative /ẓ/ as in /ravd/ (dismissal), /wavd/ (delegation), /lɑvẓ/ (word) and /ḥivẓ/ (memorization, learning).
Likewise, the voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ occurs in ECA in borrowed words such as /biʒa:ma/ (pajamas), /garɑ:ʒ/ (garage), /ʒakitta/ (jacket) and /ʒiha:n/ (Jihan, the name of a person (female)). Classroom observation has proved that the two sounds /v/ and /ʒ/ are not much of a problem to the ECA student as the other sounds.

/r/ There are fundamental differences in the pronunciation of /r/ in the two languages. British English /r/ is a post-alveolar fricative, whereas ECA /r/ is an alveolar flap, and an alveolar trill when doubled. In addition, the distribution of the two phonemes is different. In British English (RP) /r/ is pronounced only when followed by a vowel, e.g. /reiz/ (raise), /θred/ (thread), /'beri/ (bury), /'fɑ:r ə'wei/ (far away), /'mɔ:r ən 'mɔ:/ (more and more). But when /r/ occurs finally or before another consonant, it is not pronounced, e.g. /fɑ:/ (far), /hə:/ (her), /fɔ:m/ (form), /'taiəz/ (tyres) and /hə:z/ (hers). In Arabic the phoneme /r/ is pronounced before consonants and finally. Thus, Egyptian students would pronounce the above items as */fɑ:r/, */hə:r/, */fo:rm/, */taiərz/ and */hə:rz/.

iii. Nasals

/ŋ/ This English voiced velar nasal does not occur independently in ECA. The native speakers of ECA use the sequence /ng/ as a substitute for the English /ŋ/. They would pronounce /briŋ/ as */bring/, /siŋ/ as */sing/, /siŋiŋ/ as */singing/, /wiŋz/ as */wingz/, and /raitiŋ/ as */raiting/.

iv. Laterals

/l/ Although there is a 'dark' emphatic /l/ in ECA as in the word /ʔallɑ:h/ (God), yet the phoneme /l/ is 'clear' in the majority of its occurrences. Therefore, the 'dark' English /l/ in words like /kild/ (killed), /help/ (help), /twelv/ (twelve), /fi:l/ (feel), /wel/ (well) and /pi:pl/ (people) poses a problem to the Egyptian student. Furthermore, the ECA /l/ is never syllabic as the English /l/ in, e.g. /ketl/ (kettle) and /bɔtl/ (bottle). The native speaker of ECA would tend to insert a short /i/ between syllabic /l/ and the preceding consonant, e.g. */ketil/ and */bɔtil/.

v. Consonant Clusters

In ECA speech a sequence of three consonants in close transition does not occur. This means that only one or two consonants may occur between two vowels or before a pause. Therefore, in order to avoid a combination of more than two consonants in Arabic a short vowel is introduced between the second and third consonants. This intrusive vowel is usually a short non-final /i/ called Epenthetic or Anaptyctic vowel. Examples are (the anaptyctic vowel is written in italics):

/gamb*i* buṣṭɑ/ (near a post office)
/baʕd*i* ma waṣɑl/ (after he has arrived)
/ʔiṣṣubh*i* badri/ (early in the morning)
/ma wafiʔʃ*i* ɣa-lxuṭu:bɑ/ (He did not approve the engagement.)

In English, on the other hand, a word may have a medial or a final consonant cluster of two, three or four consonants, e.g. /fɔ:lt/ (fault), /helpt/ (helped), /ɑ:skt/ (asked), /siksθ/ (sixth), /iks'prest/ (expressed). Further, in connected speech, up to six or even seven consonant sounds in succession may occur in English, e.g.

/'fə:st 'wi:k/ (first week)
/'lɑ:st 'freiz/ (last phrase)
/'piəst 'θru:/ (pierced through)
/'left 'skwεə/ (left square)
/'siksθ stri:t/ (sixth street)
/ʃi: 'tempts 'streindʒəz/ (She tempts strangers.)

Consequently, the Egyptian learner will tend to insert a short vowel into such consonant combinations, especially between the second and third consonants. This is most common in the pronunciation of the past form of many English regular verbs that end in two consonants such as jump, ask, convince and pronounce. So, instead of saying /dʒʌmpt/, /ɑ:skt/, /kən'vinst/ and /prə'naunst/, the native speaker of Egyptian Arabic would say */dʒʌmpid/, */ɑ:skid/, */kən'vinsid/ and */prə'naunsid/ respectively. We notice also that an unnecessary syllable is added to such verbs.

2. Vowels and Diphthongs

i. Vowels (Monophthongs)

British English has a greater number of simple vowels than ECA. Whereas British English has twelve simple vowels, ECA has only the following six vowels: /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/ and /ɑ/. They occur both long and short. From this list we may notice that the native speaker of ECA is expected to find difficulty with the English vowels /æ/, /ɔ/, /ʌ/, /ə:/ and /ə/. Although the Egyptian student would replace the first three vowels by /a/, /o/ and /ɑ/ respectively, yet these are of less difficulty than the central vowels /ə:/ and /ə/. /ə:/ is usually pronounced /e:/ such as in

*/be:rd/ for /bə:d/ (bird) and */le:rn/ for /lə:n/ (learn). The sound /ə/ which occurs only in unstressed positions in English is often replaced by /a/, e.g. /ə'tempt/ (attempt), /ə'baut/ (about), /'brekfəst/ (breakfast), /'dʒentlmən/ (gentleman) and /pə'tikjuləli/ (particularly) would be pronounced */a'tempt/, */a'baut/, */'brekfast/, */'dʒentlman/ and */pa'tikjulali/ respectively.

ii. Diphthongs

In British English there are nine diphthongs: /ei/, /ou/, /ai/, /au/, /ɔi/, /iə/, /ɛə/, /ɔə/ and /uə/. Although there are no diphthongs in ECA, the Egyptian students find no special difficulty with the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. In fact, there are similar phonetic combinations or sequences in Arabic. These sequences phonemically comprise a vowel + a consonant, e.g. /ay/ in /zayy/ (like, as), /ɑy/ in /ṭɑyyɑ:r/ (a pilot), /aw/ in /law/ (if), /mawgu:d/ (present, available) and /ʔawla:d/ (boys).

Likewise, the English diphthong /ɔi/ is usually produced by Egyptian students without much trouble, although this sound is unknown in ECA. However, the following areas are problematic to the students:

a. /ei/ which is often replaced by the long vowel /e:/, e.g. /feil/ (fail), /leik/ (lake), /reid/ (raid), /meil/ (mail, male) and /teist/ (taste) would be pronounced */fe:l/, */le:k/, */re:d/, */me:l/ and */te:st/ respectively.

b. /ou/. Egyptian students tend to make this sound either too short and without the necessary movement to a closer position in the direction of /u/ or they may replace it altogether by the long native vowel /o:/, e.g. they would pronounce /sou/ (so), /gou/ (go) and /bout/ (boat) as */sɔ/ or */so:/, */gɔ/ or */go:/ and */bo:t/ respectively. In connected speech this may cause misunderstanding to the native speaker of English, e.g. instead of /ai 'wouk 'ʌp/ (I woke up) he may hear /ai 'wɔ:k 'ʌp/ (I walk up), instead of /ai 'put 'ɔn mai 'kout/ (I put on my coat) he may hear /ai 'put 'ɔn mai 'kɔt (or 'kɔ:t)/ and so on.

c. Another area of phonological difficulty is the so-called centring diphthongs: /iə/, /ɛə/, /ɔə/ and /uə/. In ECA there is no sequence v + ə. So, the students tend to substitute these diphthongs by their long vowels /i:/, /e:/, /o:/ and /u:/. This often causes misunderstanding in English minimal pairs such as /hiə/ (hear, here) and /hi:/ (he), /biəd/ (beard) and /bi:d/ (bead), /fiə/ (fear) and /fi:/ (fee), /piəs/ (pierce) and /pi:s/ (piece, peace) and so on. Further, words like /hɛə/ (hair, hare), /fɛə/ (fair, fare), /wɛə/ (wear) and /pɛə/ (pair, pear, pare) would be pronounced */he:r/, */fe:r/, */we:r/ and */pe:r/. Similarly, /dɔə/ (door), /mɔə/ (more) and /flɔə/ (floor) would be pronounced */do:r/, */mo:r/ and */flo:r/, and words like /tuə/ (tour), /ʃuə/ (sure) and /kjuə/ (cure) may be pronounced */tu:r/, */ʃu:r/ and */kju:r/.

3. Stress and Rhythm

Word Stress

The position of stress in ECA depends on the structure of the word in terms of its constituent syllables. If we start with the assumption that in ECA each syllable begins with a consonant, we find that there are five syllable patterns:

cv, cvc, cv:, cvcc and cv:c (where c = consonant, v = vowel and v: = long vowel)

Examples: /sixin/ (it became hot) (cv - cvc)
/ba:rid/ (cold) (cv: - cvc)
/ʕadd/ (he counted) (cvcc)
/na:m/ (he slept) (cv:c)

Each lexical item in ECA has one prominent or stressed syllable in accordance with the following rules[4]: (the stress is indicated by ' placed before the pertinent syllable)

i. If the ultimate syllable is of the pattern cv:c or cvcc, the stress falls on that syllable, e.g.
cv:c /hi'sa:b/ (account, bill, arithmetic)
/ʔa'xu:h/ (his brother)
/saga'nu:h/ (They imprisoned him.)

cvcc /si'miʕt/ (I heard, I listened to)
/ka'tabt/ (I wrote down)
/ʔiḍ'ḍuhr/ (the noon)

ii. If the word is of the pattern cvcvcv(c), and in words of more than three syllables, provided that the pre-antepenultimate syllable is not of the pattern cv, the stress falls on the antepenultimate, e.g.
/'ʕumala/ (agents, stooges, customers)
/'fuʔarɑ/ (poor people)
/'ḍarɑbit/ (she hit)
/ʔit'ʃabakit/ (she was engaged)
/ʔid'dalaʔit/ (it was spilt)

iii. Otherwise the penultimate syllable is stressed, e.g.
/ʔit'naʔal/ (he was transferred)
/samḥitu/ (she forgave him)
/mu'darris/ (a teacher)
/ʃɑn'ṭiṭi/ (my bag/brief-case/suitcase)[5]

From the above rules we may notice that:
a. stress in ECA never precedes the antepenultimate syllable,
b. in the vast majority of multisyllabic words in ECA the stress falls either on the ultimate or on the penultimate syllable,
c. word stress in ECA may shift from one syllable to another according to the total syllabic pattern of the word, e.g. the stress on the ultimate syllable in /ḍɑ'rɑbt/ (I hit) shifts to the penultimate syllable in /'ḍɑrɑb/ (he hit) and to the antepenultimate syllable in /ʔiḍ'ḍɑrɑbit/ (she was hit). In English, on the other hand, the stress remains on the same syllable even if the syllabic structure of the word changes, e.g. /ri'si:v/ (receive) and /ri'si:vəz/ (receivers).

On the basis of the above facts, native speakers of ECA encounter certain problems in the pronunciation of English words. They tend to place the stress in these words in terms of the syllabic patterning of Arabic. The following areas of difficulty have been observed and attested:

i. If an English word ends with a syllable of the structure cv:c or cvcc the Egyptian learner tends to place the stress on that syllable, e.g. he would pronounce /'dʌʒstifaid/ (justified), /'sætisfaid/ (satisfied), /'plætfɔ:m/ (platform), /ə'pendiks/ (appendix), and /ə'pærənt/ as */dʒʌsti'faid/,

*/sætis'faid/, */plæt'fɔ:m/. */əpen'diks/, and */əpæ'rent/ respectively.

ii. Egyptian learners tend to stress the penultimate syllable in English words which have the stress on the antepenultimate, e.g. they would pronounce words like /'sailəntli/ (silently), /'ri:səntli/ (recently), /'prɔbəbli/ (probably), and /'intəvəl/ (interval) as */sai'lentli/, */ri:'sentli/, */prə'bæbli/, and */in'tə:vəl/ respectively.

iii. Since stress in ECA never precedes the antepenultimate syllable, Egyptian learners tend to shift the stress to this syllable in English multisyllabic words which have the stress on the pre-antepenultimate, e.g. they would pronounce /'nesisəri/ (necessary), /pri'pærətəri/ (preparatory), /'sekəndəri/ (secondary), /'kætigəri/ (category), and /'æligəri/ (allegory) as */nə'sesəri/, */pripə'rætəri/, */se'kɔndəri/, */kə'tigəri/, and */ə'ligəri/ respectively.

iv. The Egyptian learner tends to stress the second element in English compound nouns. Thus, compound nouns like /'brekfəst/ (breakfast), /'poustmən/ (postman), /'houmwə:k/ (homework), /'hɛəpin/ (hairpin), /'dainiŋrum/ (dining-room), /'kʌbəd/ (cupboard) and /'pɑ:spɔ:t/ (passport) would be pronounced */'brek'fɑ:st/, */'poust'mæn/, */'houm'wə:k/, */'hɛə'pin/, */'dainiŋ'ru:m/, */'kʌb'bɔ:d/ and */'pɑ:s'pɔ:t/ respectively.

Sentence Stress

Sentence stress is another source of difficulty for the native speaker of ECA learning English. This is due, in the first place, to difference in terms of the nature of rhythm[6] in both Arabic and English. Arabic is a syllable-timed language, i.e. syllables in Arabic connected speech are pronounced at nearly equal distances or duration of time whether these syllables are stressed or unstressed. English, on the other hand, is a stress-timed language, i.e. in English there is a general tendency to make only strong stresses succeed one another at approximately regular intervals of time. This rhythmic regularity affects the length of vowels and diphthongs, as well as function words such as the anomalous finites, pronouns, prepositions and articles. These function words occur in English more often in unstressed than in stressed positions. The Egyptian learners tend to pronounce English syllables, stressed and unstressed alike, at nearly equal distances. Thus, they give undue emphasis to weakly stressed syllables and words, whereas English speakers tend to 'slur' the weakly stressed syllables and words intervening between the strong stresses. For example, sentences like /hi z bin 'aut/ (He has been out.), /it sə 'lɔŋ 'wei frəm ðə 'siti/ (It's a long way from the city.) would be pronounced as */'hi: 'hæz 'bi:n 'aut/ and */'it 'iz 'ei 'lɔŋ 'wei 'frɔm 'ði: 'siti/ by the native speaker of ECA.

4. Intonation

ECA, like English, makes use of static (level) tones and kinetic (moving) tones. Four kinetic tones operate in the intonation of ECA. These are: falling, rising, falling rising and rising falling. But it may be noted that the tones in the two languages are differently structured or organized and that tones which may be similar are correlated with different functions (uses) and may convey different feelings or emotions.

Likewise, three pitch levels may be distinguished in both ECA and British English. These are: low, mid and high. But ECA speech differs from English in that each syllable in ECA is definitely pronounced on one of these three pitches and the voice jumps from one pitch level to another. An exception to this is the nucleus of the tone group[7], i.e. the last fully stressed syllable in the utterance, which may move from one pitch to another by a kind of climb or descent. In English intonation, on the other hand, the relation between tone and syllables is concentrated on the stressed syllables only, i.e. every stressed syllable is on one of the three pitch levels mentioned above, whereas the unstressed syllables intervening between the different pitches may rise or fall gradually. Thus, in English intonation the voice moves from one pitch level to another by gradation. This general trend of English intonation is an important rule in the learning of English, and forms one of the fundamental differences between ECA and English speech phenomena. However, the following two tonal differences between the two languages deserve particular attention:

i. The rising tone used on Yes/No questions (seeking confirmation or denial) is characterized in English by a rising pitch on the onset of the nucleus from slightly below the middle of the normal voice range to the top, whereas in ECA the starting point lies somewhere below mid and for approximately half the duration of the tone the pitch remains level and then rises to a point above mid.

ii. The falling tone used on declarative sentences (definite statements) is marked in English by a gradual descent on a series of syllables from the last fully stressed syllable to the end of the utterance. This is in contrast with the jump movement from pitch to pitch in ECA.

Footnotes

[1] Wilkins, D.A., Linguistics in Language Teaching, The MIT Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972, p. 200.

[2] Ibid., p. 202.

[3] For the description of British English sounds, see Jones, D., An Outline of English Phonetics, Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge, 1964.

[4] These rules apply to suffixed as well as to unsuffixed items.

[5] There are some exceptions to the above rules under i. - iii. For these exceptions, see Mitchell, T.F., Colloquial Arabic, Teach Yourself Books, The English Universities Press Ltd., London, 1962, pp. 27-28.

[6] Rhythm may be defined as the manner of recurrence of stressed syllables, and the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables.

[7] A tone-group is here defined as a cluster of syllables which consists of a single fully-stressed syllable bearing a kinetic tone, and any preceding or following syllables which are closely connected with it tonetically or semantically.

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EVALUATING AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOK

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We teach so that our pupils may learn. In order to be effective, we have to concern ourselves with the factors involved in the teaching-learning process. A careful analysis of this process will reveal information related to human factors, including the teacher and the learner, and non-human factors, such as the textbook, methods, and teaching aids.

The results presented in this paper supply, in an abridged form, the data derived from a more detailed study developed and field tested in Cairo. More extensive analysis is included in my unpublished thesis: Evaluating an English Language Textbook for the Preparatory Stage, (Cairo: Faculty of Education, Ain Shams University, 1970).

The original study utilizes a score-card which suggest guidelines for analyzing and recording data; rating the Pupil's Textbook and the Teacher's Manual in the light of criteria on the basis of a 5-point scale.

In teaching and learning different language skills, teacher and student can benefit from the guidance offered in special books written for use in the schools. It is usually the case that the author provides certain information to the student, and for specific assistance to the teacher. To meet these dual tasks two books may be in order: a textbook for the student and a correlated manual or guide for the teacher. Together, both books can help the teacher to teach and the learner to learn. They can provide material for ear and speech training and exercises to develop reading and writing. The teacher's manual can offer suggestions for presenting each new teaching point in the syllabus in realistic situations and detail oral drills for fixing each new point in the pupils' minds. Because of these tasks the selection of language textbooks becomes highly important in English language teaching.

In Egypt the choice of textbooks may not concern the teacher. Adoptions are usually the responsibility of the state. However, both teacher and student pass judgments on the textbooks they use. Teachers, senior masters and inspectors (supervisors) are often asked to submit reports on the value and usefulness of language textbooks in use.

Clearly a means of formally evaluating commonly used English texts are an important element in language teaching and some formal measure is invaluable. To judge a Pupil's Textbook and a Teacher's Manual for the Preparatory (Junior High: Eleven to Thirteen) Stage, the following guidelines I have prepared may be helpful.

My technique of evaluation of a textbook consists of two phases: recording and evaluating the data. These separate processes form one integrated whole. The recording and evaluating of the data are achieved by the following successive steps:

(1) *Survey* Skim through the Introduction, Table of Contents, Text & Glossary in order to get an idea about the purpose, organization and method of presentation as well as the range and kind of material that the book includes.

(2) *Analysis* Carefully examine and state what is in the Pupil's Textbook and in the Teacher's Manual. This data should be organized in the following mode:

The Pupil's Textbook:
- (a) Subject matter
- (b) Vocabulary and structure
- (c) Exercises
- (d) Illustrations
- (e) Physical make-up (cover, size, binding, paper, printing, type, lay-out of the page)

The Teacher's Manual:
- (a) General features
- (b) Speech training
- (c) Reading skills
- (d) Grammar
- (e) Writing skills

(3) *Judgment* This requires response to quantitive and qualitive elements, viz.:

(a) Rate the criteria numerically in the range of 0 through 4 (i.e., if a specific criterion appears virtually ideal, its merit should be scored as 4; if there is a total lack of merit in some respect, its merit score is 0). For convenience in completing a simple measure of the answers to this questionnaire the rating may be made with a check (✓) in the space provided:

Excellent	4
Very Good	3
Good	2
Weak	1
Totally Lacking	0

(b) Write your *Comments* & *Suggestions* for improvement, considering:
- (i) Points of strength
- (ii) Points of weakness
- (iii) Suggestions for improvement

The following opinion chart was developed to provide the means for receiving an analysis of student's textbooks and of teacher's guides. This requires consideration of:

The Pupil's Textbook

(a) Subject matter

	4	3	2	1	0
(1) Does the subject matter cover a variety of topics appropriate to the interest of learners for whom the book is intended (urban and rural environment; children and adult learners; narrative, descriptive and dramatic modes, ...)?					
(2) Is the ordering of materials arranged by topics or centres of interest in a logical fashion.					

	4	3	2	1	0
(3) Does the subject-matter help learners to understand the values in their society without a moralizing or didactic tone?					
(4) Is the content graded according to the requirements of the syllabus?					
(5) Is the material accurate and up-to-date?					
(b) Vocabulary and structure					
(1) Does the vocabulary load, the number of new words introduced every lesson, seem to be reasonable for the pupils of the grade.					
(2) Are the vocabulary items controlled to ensure systematic gradation from simple to complex items?					
(3) Does the sentence length seem reasonable for the pupils of the grade?					
(4) Do the sentences gradually increase in length to suit the growing reading ability of the pupils?					
(5) Does the writer use current everyday language, and a sentence structure that follows normal word order to serve as a model?					
(6) Do the sentences and paragraphs follow one another in a logical sequence?					
(7) Are linguistic items introduced in meaningful situations to facilitate understanding and ensure assimilation and consolidation?					
(c) Exercises					
(1) Do the exercises develop comprehension and test knowledge of main ideas, details and sequence of ideas?					
(2) Do the exercises involve vocabulary and structures which build the learner's vocabulary?					
(3) Do the exercises provide practice in different types of written work (handwriting, spelling and dictation, guided composition)?					
(4) Does the book provide a pattern of review within lessons and cumulatively test new material?					
(5) Do the exercises promote meaningful communication referring to realistic activities and situations?					
(d) Illustrations					
(1) Do illustrations create a favourable atmosphere for reading and speech by showing realism and action?					
(2) Are the illustrations clear, simple and free from unnecessary details that may confuse the learner?					
(3) Are the illustrations printed close enough to the text and so directly related to help the learner understand the printed text?					
(4) Do the illustrations show good taste in drawing and printing?					

	4	3	2	1	0
(e) Physical make-up					
(1) Is the cover of the book durable enough to withstand wear?					
(2) Is the cover attractive in colour and appearance?					
(3) Does the size of the book seem convenient for pupils to handle?					
(4) Is the binding durable without preventing the book from opening freely?					
(5) Are the pages attractive as regards paper and binding?					
(6) Is the type size readable for the intended learners?					
(7) Is the appearance of the page attractive and inviting?					

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The Teacher's Manual

	4	3	2	1	0
(a) General features					
(1) Does the Manual help the teacher understand the rationale of the Pupil's Textbook?					
(2) Does the Manual help the teacher understand the principles and philosophy underlying the writing of the book?					
(3) Does the Manual guide the teacher to the SYLLABUS of the grade?					
(4) Does the Glossary guide the teacher to the Vocabulary used in the Pupil's Textbook and other books in the series?					
(5) Are the vocabulary items and expressions well explained?					
(6) Does the Manual help the teacher with each new types of lesson?					
(b) Speech training					
(1) Does the Manual provide material for training the pupils in listening and in understanding the spoken language?					
(2) Does the Manual provide material for training the pupils on oral expression?					
(3) Does the Manual advise the teacher on the use of Audio-Visual aids?					
(4) Does the Manual provide practical guidance to the teacher on pronunciation and intonation?					
(5) Does the Manual provide contrastive information for the teacher on likely pronunciation problems?					
(c) Reading skills					
(1) Does the Manual provide suggestions to help the teacher review previous lessons and introduce new lessons?					
(2) Does the Manual provide questions to help the teacher test the pupils' comprehension?					
(3) Does the Manual provide drills and exercises that enable the teacher to help the pupils build up their vocabulary?					

	4	3	2	1	0
(4) Does the Manual provide basic information on the culture of English-speaking peoples (such as home life, school life, occupations..)?					
(d) Grammar (1) Does the Manual provide teaching points of grammar by offering adequate and varied oral pattern practice?					
(2) Does the Manual provide information on grammar to help the teacher explain grammatical patterns presented in the lessons?					
(e) Writing skills (1) Does the Manual provide adequate graded material for writing practice?					
(2) Does the Manual provide guidance to the teacher for various types of written work?					
(3) Does the Manual provide guidance to the teacher for evaluating written work and identifying their pupils' most serious mistakes?					

By responding to the questionnaire I have devised it is simple and practical to measure the basic utility value of an ESL textbook. In this way it is possible to assess the most useful book for the immediate ESL purpose. Since the text is such a vital part of the language teaching program in the context of interactional English courses, such a means of gathering evaluative data is an important element in developing adequate and innovative classroom programs.

SOME OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMERCIAL USAGE OF BRITISH LANGUAGE REGISTERS

John Povey

I have always been told that American accents are not socially stratified and that there is no obvious hierarchy of distinction amongst the regional dialects. This is presented as a common orthodoxy, and as a foreigner I have courteously avoided questioning these democratic assertions, even when my personal experience conflicted with this conviction. In Britain things are acknowledged to be very different. In that country social class stratifications are most clearly distinguished by the most minute discrepancies of phonology rather than dress, possessions or education. Language use provides the common exemplification of social and sometimes economic status. In lamenting 'verbal class distinction' Professor Higgins offers the following memorable lines:

> "An Englishman's way of speaking absolutely classifies him. The moment he talks he makes some other Englishman despise him."

-- or, of course, feel the comfortable warmth of group identification or develop a sense of awe and deference.

All this comment would be subsumed under the general heading of cultural trivia were it not for the fact that these linguistic nuances, so closely matching socio-economic and class status in Britain have clearly suggested to commercial interests a significant means of manipulating the attitudes and opinions of consumers. This discovery opened up to me an entirely new aspect of socio-linguistic studies. It seems worth recording, on a very tentative and superficial basis, certain obvious facts which are presumably consciously calculated by professionals. Perhaps this even offers a prosperous job opportunities to the less idealistic linguists specialising in accents!!

During a recent visit to London, sloth above average was induced by the imbibing of excess Christmas cheer and carbohydrates and compounded incipient flu. Thus reduced to inactivity I gazed in goggle-eyed indifference at continuous hours of commercial television--BBC offerings being somewhat intellectually stimulating for my fragile state. The advertisements are the most British part of English commercial TV since the main programming consists substantially of rerun American serials. As I watched I began to notice some curiosities of language usage as it was employed to purvey various products. Certain linguistic/product liaisons began to emerge. I tried to organize the intentions of the salesmen in terms of their selective linguistic preferences. It was soon clear that language was one of the definers of the sales messages which were aimed at stratified audience groupings. I elucidated six linguistic modes distinguished by accent register or dialect in regular TV commercial usage:

1. Standard English (roughly BBC)
2. Upper class (Oxford)
3. Lower class English (often regional but roughly "homey")
4. Regional forms
    i. Cockney-London
    ii. Other British areas

5. Foreign forms
   i. European
   ii. American

The conundrum propounded was how to attempt to discern the calculated purpose for the actual selection of the linguistic register in each case. Clearly there was too much money at stake for the differences to be merely accidental.

I. Standard British

This version of RP English is roughly BBC. Many Americans mistake BBC for "upper" or "Oxford" accent but there are clear distinctions. BBC announcers with their careful avoidance of localisms have become the national model for accepted educated speech. This accent is particularly common amongst bidialectical speakers. For upward mobile speakers the BBC/RP is acquired by deliberate education and phonological training. BBC then becomes the external norm more so than the speech of the peer group. Products advertised in this register were relatively "neutral," or to argue in a reverse way, they were products of common usage where there was no particular advantage in marking out some specific purchasing group to be delineated by accent.

A perfect example of this is provided by advertisements for The Electricity Supply Board and public information spots such as those teaching road safety awareness or recommending the buckling of car seat belts.

Amongst commercial offerings in this class I found Gillette and Wilkinson's razors-products used uniformly enough that they needed to pitch no specific attraction to specialized groups. Similarly the electric razors by Ronson and Remington were advertised in RP, as were Polaroid sunglasses. W. H. Smith, that ubiquitous chain bookseller, uses RP to suggest substantial national distribution that would be implicitly limited by any announcement in a local voice. The originally rather plebian Butlin's holiday camp resorts used RP. Perhaps the language selection was made precisely to extend the range of class attendance by suggesting that their entertainment and the comforts provided were not suitable only for the lower class. The use of an upper accent would tend to disqualify the working class holiday makers by suggesting they provided uncomfortably elegant arrangements. Polaroid cameras with no presently defined class stratified marker, a new form of "Crisp Bread" with national sales and Nimble, a diet low calorie loaf, use this accent register. There were many other products of a rather heterogeneous nature which might just as well have followed other linguistic options but in the particular advertising message observed, were offered in RP without any more obvious reason than the general neutrality to class stratification that RP is believed to provide. These products included Nescafe, Quaker Oats, Cool Charm and Mum deodorants. The latter might have been upgraded by accent into a fancy personal hygiene product but it seems possible usage is being induced downward gradually into the extensive market of the great unwashed without inducing the dismissive reaction of "that's for the likes of them, not for the likes of us." RP was used for pilchards, Winnalot dog biscuits and two different kinds of cat food. Vim and Omo washing detergents most unusually were not regionalized by the common housewife interview presentation format. Several ads for wines also use this register. One might have anticipated wine producers would have preferred an "upper" usage but clearly the determination is to break down market and make wine less of a special occasion drink.

2. Upper Class Accent

If the RP is seen as a standard in all senses of the word, it is fairly obvious that this is the norm against which the penetration into upper and lower linguistic and social classes will be measured. It is very obvious that upper class accents will theoretically at least lend distinction to the product by exposing its use in high class surroundings. This upgrading is a common enough device in American commercials where the setting can denote the distinguished nature of the product because it is enjoyed or consumed in yachts or on the balconies of plush resorts. Only in British English can this distinction be established and greatly reinforced by the actual pronunciation characteristics of the speakers.

The products advertised in this language register may be divided into two types; those that might be considered legitimately "upper" and those that clearly are not but are to be separated from the competition by being set into that elevated use bracket of the rich connoiseurs.

Obvious examples of the former are cigars (though the cheaper varieties like "Will's Whiffs" would come under the next type as upgrading), Dry Sack sherry, Parker pens on which Papermate piggy backs with a similar ad exposing a users other possessions: gold lighter, gold watch, etc. There seem fewer of this type of product than might casually be anticipated. This is because television with its need for mass audience consumers is not able to plug the expensive and specialized item through the costly medium of the national network programming. The relative prosperity of the American consumer is indicated by the fact that cars are considered a "mass" product and thus advertised repeatedly on TV. This is rarely done in Britain.

The second type of upper class accent usage is to discriminate the manufacturer's common product from its generic competition. The products most characteristic of this upgrading-by-dialect association are the whole range of toilet products such as 'Creme Rinse' and comestibles, particularly candy. For example, Fox Glacier Mints are separated from common or garden polo mints by the cultivated accent employed in the dialog between the two polar bears who are the symbol of this candy. Fry's, the largest chocolate manufacturer, uses this register association to push their top-of-the-line product "Grand Seville" but not for their commoner chocolate bars. They accompany their language with a scene of a woman in a most unutilitarian white dress eating their chocolates while idly and languorously stretched upon a chaise. "After Eight", mint chocolate patties, use accent to sustain the craftily calculated name choice which suggests it is a product eaten by those who have dinner in the evening rather than five o'clock high tea. Robinson's Barley Water is recommended by their label symbol, a butler, in a voice so upper it passes out of the register into virtual comedy. This is a long established product fighting against the competition of new cheaper drink mixes. Similarly, Robertson's jams are distinguished by accent and the usage situation from other common jelly spreads. "Blue Band" margarine employs the upgrading of accent to make its use acceptable in competition with what used to be called the expensive spread; redeeming margarine from its Salvation Army hand-out image by confirming that even those who can afford butter enjoy this spread. Horlicks, a hot bedtime beverage, retains its exclusive status with overtones of Christopher Robin and Nanny in the nursery. Working class people drink cocoa and can be shamed into the more expensive and exclusive purchases. Similarly, baby foods in jars which could most readily be described in standard English often fall into this upper register. This is to suggest to less wealthy mothers the advantages of the commercial product over their own preparations, i.e. if the rich employ it, it must be better. Salmon, although canned, can be attached by scene and accent to the society ambience of the fancy smoked variety. Cracker Barrel cheese, being relatively expensive because imported, aims at an upper market association by accent and by showing it being enjoyed in the company of good wine rather than as a take-to-work cheese sandwich. A new cookie-cake by McVities called "toppers" attempts to gain elevation beyond common equivalent products by suggesting the enjoyment it provided diners who admire it in exclusive upper accents. Yoghurt by Ivel, just being brought to the British general market, fits into this category. This is interesting because it suggests that if this bizarre new product must expand its sales from health food addicts to common usage against the stoic conservativism of the highly ethnocentric palates of Englishmen, it will best succeed if it starts at the top and filters down by admiring osmosis.

Long Life beer is a relatively new brand and is found in this category in marked contrast to most other ales. Its presentation shows it being supped on a yacht, not swilled in a convivial public house setting. Since beer is accepted as a poor man's drink, this accent usage signalled the need to break into a new market by redeeming this particular brew only from the overall plebian image of the beverage. Skol brand lager, "the lighter pint," also uses this technique which is similar in intention to the Michelob advertisements in this country. A similar device is behind the harried executive who in full public school voice recommends the curative powers of Guiness stout. Since this has usually been considered a working class woman's drink, it moves to market extension, both in salary level and sex options!

One intriguing commercial used the upper register for Heinz "Brown Sauce" which was declared to be "devilishly good"--the comment being both a lexically and phonologically upper. This can only exist as a kind of paradox joke since Heinz products are firmly set as the staples of the working class kitchen. No upgrading is possible or surely needed. The same humor is apparent in upper accented recommendations for parafin room heaters, the cheapest and least effective means of space heating and certainly despised by those who are filmed advocating it. This social joke also permits a reversal. "Topic" chocolates are advertised in the most abysmal lower class rough accent to induce the idea of this candy being far too distinguished and refined for such vulgarly spoken eaters.

3. Lower Class English

It is not easy to define what I call a "homey" accent. It clearly has regional overtones and yet these are not explicit enough to place the accent within a certain community. The mode derives partly from tone and emphasis as much as phonology as such. It would be commonly recognized as a "friendly" voice as opposed to the degree of social limitation that obtains, not only from the common disapproval of the snobbish accents but even of BBC speech which is often stigmatised regionally as "a bit la-di-da". It is obvious what things will be sold in this friendly equal-to-equal kind of voice. They are products that carry with them auras of warmth and imply simple family comfort such as Bird's Eye frozen peas (by far the most popular and common vegetable). Ovaltine which has curiously separated itself in class status from the apparently similar bedtime drink product, Horlicks, uses this register to indicate homey nutrition. By the employment of this register Tetley, Quick Brew, and 99 Tea Bags have already achieved a revolution in the most common form of tea packaging where "one spoon per person and one for the pot" had seemed an inviolate and eternal tradition. Walls pork sausages are advertised exclusively in this way as are Bryanston pickles. New Zealand butter deliberately selects this common touch. It has always been traditionally cheap because of the empire preferential tariff. It now seeks to retain its market share against the European butters which are more expensive (owing to common market subsidies) and therefore decreed to be "fancy" and are advertised in foreign accents. Heinz spaghetti is classically appropriate for using this mode because of its accepted place in the overall market stratification. Bird's Eye orange juice chooses this language register as it is a new product in Britain and is clearly trying to eliminate the image that associates it only with the specialized international traveller market by using the common voice. Sunfresh soda flavoring, a cheap drink-mix product like Koolaid, fits naturally into this mode as does Cherry Bee, a popular soda drink that reinforces its accepted popularity by directing its advertising at the working class level by its register selection. Certain personal hygiene products such as Harmony Hair spray that aim at the practical rather than the high toned cosmetic market fall into this sector, as do homely conventional products such as Wheetabix, Scotch porridge oats and Cadbury's chocolate cake which are far too popular to need or seek any upward stimulous from accent but rather wish to confirm their broad availability and confirm their tastiness by the approval of its consumers' peers. That homely remedy Alka Selzer uses this voice tone unlike many other home medications which use the hushed upper register of the consulting doctor's advisory counsel. Often in this model the interviewer uses RP to indicate sophistication and educated wisdom while the anxious sufferer uses a working class accent to indicate his humble supplication for guidance from the medical guru. This form is apparent in dandruff and similar commercials.

4. Regional (i) Cockney

Regional accents in Britain are not only regional but may be judged in essence as class accents too. The reason for this is the predominance of the educated accent over the regional. In educational policy, phonology has usually been employed to correct the non-standard regionalisms and this has tended, at least until recently, to make the local accents be considered both provincial and ill educated. Besides this general discrimination there are certain accents that have particularly marginal status. Yorkshire and Lancashire accents are regarded as comic and totally unsuitable for any serious dialog, perhaps a little like the New Joisy or Bronx accents that occasionally turn up as the language of "funny" characters in American commercials, significantly and invariably for only toilet and cleaning products.

The most common accent on the London TV is of course the cockney one. This is the regional accent but it is also class differentiated, for no educated Londoner uses cockney. It is impossible to imagine any straight public use of the cockney accent. This is recognized in all war films where the cockney soldier is inevitably given the comic private role. Because of this association, the only products sold in this accent are those regarded most obviously as lower class. Characteristic commercials using this accent were for Fray-Bentos canned steak and kidney pies, Birds Eye fish fingers (frozen fish pieces), choc ices from Lyons (a company which sells its other products in higher accent registers), potato crisps (chips), a plebian treat, and beer, such as Courage Tavern ale, now increasingly available in cans. This ordinary beer is sold in marked linguistic contrast to the newer hard sell products like lager. This foreign drink, such as Skol, uncommon a decade ago, is touted in higher register advertisements to mark out an upward extended market for a beer that has no working class association. A version of the extension of products found in the 'homey' section into specific cockney are aluminum foil wrap and Arrid deodorant which constitute a significant example of the use of a non-threatening local dialect to legitimize products which could have been regarded as fixed in upper class usage to the degree that might have reduced the market sought.

Regional (ii) Outside of London

The use of regional accents other than the London one seems to have two commercial intentions. The first is to indicate the national spread of the product and to avoid the market limitations of it being considered just for northerners or southerners as the case may be. The second usage links the product with some specific item of high repute amongst well known regional products. The high quality of Devonshire cream, like American Idaho potatoes, makes Devon an overall adjectival blessing without the product necessarily originating from that particular area of the country.

The first use of regional variants simply signifies the extent of the sales or the locations of the company. Typical are the advertisements for British Railways. As a curious reversal of W. H. Smith's neutrality of RP to indicate total coverage of the national geography, Boots, the largest British drug store chain, have their ads in a series of regional accents to secure local allegiance. A classic example of this technique comes with "Wonderbread". This has a nation-wide label but the bread, we are informed in a variety of local dialects, is "made fresh in your area". This must be true because the bakers who tells us this are so uncontravertibly local. Mysteriously, "Jellymeat Whiskers" cat food advertisements cover a whole sequence of regional accents persumably to suggest that no matter the cat's accent it joins in admiring this canned dish. Also one brand of toilet tissue indicates its overall utility by providing inter-regional dialect dialogues between the talkative rolls!

The second type of regional usage derives from the connotations to be derived from local specialities. Chum dog food ads use a Lincolnshire accent because Lincolnshire suggests a country atmosphere good for dog breeding. Lyons' Strawberry Fool is advertised in a vaguely Somerset accent which brings into the mind, if not into the product, the strawberries and cream for which Somerset is famous. Similarly, English butter is advertised using a somewhat un-specific but generally rural South-Western accent which links the spread with the rich dairy farming areas of Wiltshire. These are classic examples of quality by association, but it must be repeated that in Britain this association can be constructed even over the radio because it is language, not merely the filmed illustration, that is determining consumer reaction. Flash bathroom cleaner is advertised with a Scottish accent, presumably because the Scots are renowned as a hardy cleanly people. Jubilee stout is recommended in a northern accent which indicates the solid no-nonsense nature of the brew meets the requirements of the canny commercial north.

This latter usage suggests that sentiment generally deems regional accents to sound more "real" and, therefore, more true. It allows greater listener identification than with the neutrality of RP. This knowledge sustains the common device used by many detergent manufacturers such as Duz and Lux who seek allegiance for their product. "Surf" washing powder, as one example, uses a northern accent for northerners bringing with them an air of practicality and common sense. Hovering in the background is the thesis that they are not seduced by advertisements being traditionally too aware of the value of their hard-earned brass.

5. Foreign Accents (European)

Foreign accents are common enough in American commercials--it seems that no American car can be considered worthy unless recommended by the implicit snobbery of a star with a carefully conserved accent from some "acceptable" West European country; a view which glibly equates European with distinguished. The British usage of these accents differs very little and, in fact, is rather a different issue than the true accent register discussed earlier. In fact such usage is really no more than an extension of the British regional accent connotations.

Most of the higher quality perfume items use a foreign accent almost invariably French. Fernandel, with rich French overtones, recommends Dubonnet. Irish accents are used for Fairy Snow soap to gratify their product with the associated freshness of the moist Irish countryside. Other accents tend to be more specifically related to the country from which the product, at least nominally, originated though naturally the accent association is maintained long after the product has ceased to be an imported one. Interestingly enough, I have never heard a Japanese accent pushing any Japanese product, but a German accent is used for Heineken's beer (somewhat odd because it is a Dutch product I believe, but then the English ear is not very subtle and tends to lump foreigners together indiscriminately). A Dutch accent is used for imported Gouda cheese, Italian accent for Bel Paese cheese, and a Norwegian accent for herring.

A more complicated extension of this usage is found when a Texas accent is used to recommend canned hamburgers, a decision presumably relying on the elastic linkage that if burgers come from beef and Texans rear cattle, Texans should be the acknowledged experts on bovine quality. This assumption having been accepted is carried to a ludicrous level when a Texan spokesman is employed to commend the beefy tastiness of British powdered boullion cubes which have not only never seen Texas but probably no meat extract either.

Foreign Accents (American)

The influence of America is not only found in the speech of Texas cowhands but in the general accent used to advertise famous American products such as Kelloggs' corn flakes and Coca Cola. Oddly enough, that archetypal USA product, Wrigley's chewing gum, has been assimilated sufficiently into the culture that it even uses a local accent in its commercials. This American usage is a natural enough accommodation of the idea of linking accent to product but there is an intriguing extension allowed only to American usage. A kind of generic mid-Atlantic accent seems to be required for things which do not necessarily originate in USA but are high powered slick, up-to-date, or newly improved. Even a bleach was sold via an American accent. Modern styled shirts, probably from Hong Kong stress an American connection. Castrol High Performance oil is another example of a product where the entire underlying technology is assumed to be best advanced in an vaguely American voice. Since America is impressively efficient in European eyes (as Europe is quaint in American eyes), the American accent tends to lend an aura of efficiency to any product employing machinery. Even space toys are commended to children in an American accent.

If this must seem at one level a rather frivolous examination of trivia, it also gives one specific example of a far more critical issue--the relationship between language and class; between accent and opportunity, which has a wide international application. Register then becomes the weapon of upward mobility and, in this way, phonology ceases to be a mere classroom adjunct, but matches closely the prospects provided to those who can manipulate the prestige dialects. Advertisers, unlike academicians, are not idealists, but the shrewdest of businessmen. If they consider language register a measure of economic status, they are reminding us of a language function that cannot be overlooked in the training of both native and non-native speakers.

ABSTRACTS OF MATESL THESES

Contrastive Rhetoric of English and Japanese

Fumiko Okamura
(Diane Larsen-Freeman and John F. Povey, Co-Chairmen)

The difficulties which a foreign student at an advanced level faces in writing have been attributed to the logical and rhetorical differences that exist between English and his native tongue.

The purpose of this research is to compare expository writing in English and Japanese to see whether there are any rhetorical differences between the two languages. Fifteen writings by bilinguals and four writings by monolinguals are analyzed in terms of five specific features of rhetoric (i.e., the traditionally prescribed model of expository writing, unity and coherence among paragraphs, the form of organization within a paragraph, the semantic relationships among sentences and an analytic or synthetic mode of thinking operating among sentences). The result of the analysis does not support the assumption (Kaplan, 1966) that underlying logic is culture-specific and what is manifested in writing takes rhetorically different forms among different languages.

The final portion of this thesis discusses other possible sources of the student's problems and concludes that his difficulties arise not from the differences in logic and rhetoric but from insufficient mastery of the semantics and syntax of English at the functional level.

Vocabulary Acquisition in ESL

Gayle Cecelia Johnson
(Diane Larsen-Freeman, Chairman)

The purpose of this study of vocabulary acquisition was to address the following questions: 1) What methods can be used to teach guessing the word meaning from context? 2) Which second language learners improve in guessing word meaning from context and which do not? and 4) What conscious vocabulary acquisition strategies do students employ when attempting to learn a set of vocabulary items?

The first part of the study involved teaching the skill of guessing word meaning from a written context to intermediate-level ESL students. Materials were desigend to recognize intra-lingual, inter-lingual and extra-lingual cues which are afforded by context. A pretest and posttest were designed and administered to assess improvement in the ability to guess word meaning from context. Three of the five subjects demonstrated improvement. The data of two subjects were inconclusive. One unexpected benefit from the use of this skill was the subjects' increased ability to process longer sentences.

Budner's Intolerance of Ambiguity test was administered in an attempt to identify the type of learner who benefited from the skill of guessing word meaning from context. Intolerance of ambiguity in this case refers to the inability of a learner to tolerate vagueness in word meaning. Test scores did not correlate with either presence or absence of success in skill use. Other factors (i.e., motivation, aptitude) may have resulted in achievement. It was observed that those student who did well were confident about using the skill.

In the second part of the study, subjects were asked to relate their conscious vocabulary acquisition strategies. The prominent features of these strategies involved rehearsal of the vocabulary items to peers, and attempting to use the items in a communicative context.

A Survey of the Writing Needs and Problems of Foreign Graduate Students in Engineering as a Basis for the Development of an ESL Technical Writing Course

Diana Lynn Clarke
(Richard L. Allwright, Chairman)

This thesis is concerned with a problem in the area of English for Specific Purposes, a branch of English language teaching which deals with the particular language forms needed by learners in specific fields. The syllabus for an English for Specific Purposes course is based on what information the learner needs to give and receive. The particular problem in this thesis is that of teaching technical writing to non-native English speaking graduate students in engineering at UCLA. The objective was to find out what forms the students need to use when they write for their classes, and what writing skills are needed.

Technical writing is much like any other kind of expository writing except that the topic is something from science or engineering. Of particular importance to a technical writer are audience analysis, clarity and nonambiguity. There are a variety of specific forms which technical writers use, as well.

To find out what forms and skills are specifically needed by graduate students, a questionnaire was developed and distributed to faculty and non-native English speaking graduate students in engineering at UCLA. The responses indicated that theses and dissertations are the most important forms for graduate students, and that paragraph organization was the most important skill for writing. A sequence od activities for improving the students' technical writing skills was developed.

Writing Assignments at the American University in Cairo

Elizabeth Ann Taylor
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the writing assignments given in the Freshman Writing Clinic and those given in each department at the American University in Cairo. Thirty-eight teachers of Arts, Science, and English language classes were asked to record the titles of all writing assignments and provide copies of all exams they gave during the Fall semester, 1974. During Spring semester, 1975, this information was collected and a structured interview was held with each subject. One-factor analyses of variance were used to analyze the data. These analyses revealed that although there was no statistically significant difference between the length and frequency of the writing assignments of Arts and Science students, Arts students do, on the average, write more than Science students. They also showed that there is no statistical difference between Arts students and Science students in their use of the rhetorical patterns of physical description and explanation, extended definition, comparison and contrast, simple argument, and hypothesis. There was a significant difference in the use of the discussion pattern at the lower division level;it was used by Arts students but not by Science students. The results of the structured questionnaire showed, as expected, that there was a significant difference in the way teachers in the English Language Institute, Freshman Writing Clinic, and other departments of the university stress grammar, organization and content.

The Spanish Immersion Program: Towards Native-like Proficiency or a Classroom Dialect?

Sandra Plann
(Arnulfo Ramirez, Chairman)

This paper is a report of an investigation of the acquisition of some Spanish morphemes by some native-English-speaking children. They are students in the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program, in which Spanish is the sole medium of instruction in the classroom. The investigation consisted of a cross-sectional test of the children in grades one through four, all of whom began the program in kindergarten. The objective was to study their acquisition of agreement rules for article-noun-adjective gender and number, and for verb person and number. While these agreement rules are not crucial for communication, they are extremely important if the children are to achieve native-speaker proficiency in Spanish.

No definite trend of improvement across grades was found in the acquisition of any of the morphemes. With both the verbs and the noun modifiers, the children oversued the forms of highest frequency, overextending them to the forms of lowest frequency. The systematic nature of their errors, along with their lack of definite improvement across grades, points to the development of a classroom dialect peculiar to Spanish Immersion students.

The reasons for their lack of progress are probably not cognitive, as these forms are mastered earlier by native-speakers. Instead, the persistance of these errors is attributed mainly to the large amount of incorrect peer input from their English-speaking classmates. To a lesser degree, peer group pressure may also argue against native-like mastery of these forms. It seems unlikely that the children will attain native-like proficiency in these areas unless they are exposed to more correct Spanish, as spoken by native-Spanish-speaking peers.

A Contrastive Analysis of the Forms of Address in English and German

Susanne Louise Spangler
(Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

This thesis attempts to study and contrast the address systems of English and German on both the lexical and sociolinguistic levels. The lexical forms of the two address systems--pronouns, names and titles--are compared. The usage of the two systems is also compared as well as the sociolinguistic factors --relationship of the speaker and hearer, topic, situation, culture, and personality--underlying their use. The English address system poses some lexical and semantic difficulties for the German ESL speaker. These difficulties are only minor when compared with the sociolinguistic problems that confront the German speaker of English. The two address systems are governed by different norms--one rigid and formal and the other very free and lax--which makes it impossible for the German ESL speaker to use his own address system as a frame of reference. The alternative is to learn the sociolinguistic rules governing English address usage. This is, however, virtually impossible since native English speakers cannot define or specify address usage on the conscious level themselves. The German ESL speaker is faced with a real dilemna. Only after many years of contact with the American address system and the norms governing its usage can the German ESL speaker gain communicative competence in English address usage.

An Attempt to Define Through Error Analysis the Intermediate ESL Level at UCLA

Regina Anne Neuman
Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

The following study is an attempt to define the intermediate ESL level at UCLA. The goal was to discover the needs of the students at this level in order to make the courses more relevant to their needs. In addition to defining this level of instruction, the study attempted to reflect on the assumptions made by the two methods of analysis used to determine students' needs, contrastive analysis and error analysis. Specifically, an attempt was made to discover the role of native language interference at this level of instruction. The hypothesis was that the students from a variety of native language backgrounds, at the intermediate level, would make a number of errors in the given error categories under study. Furthermore, the frequency of errors made would distinguish the intermediate level from the beginning and advanced levels.

To test this hypothesis, autobiographical compositions were collected from UCLA students in the Winter and Spring Quarters of 1976. A total of 158 compositions were analyzed, 98 from the Winter intermediate level and 20 from each level in the Spring. Once all the errors were classified and counted, eight areas were selected for study.

It was found that the three levels were not distinctive based on the analysis of these eight areas and that native language interference did not seem to play a major role in the number of errors made.

It was recommended that the most prevalent categories be the teaching points at the intermediate level. Further recommendations were made for the structure of the ESL program at UCLA including a revision of the Placement Exam and the development of individualized instructional materials.

A Survey of the English Language Skills Needed by Foreign Graduate Students in the Life Sciences

Lisa Mary Brann
(Richard L. Allwright, Chairman)

This thesis investigated the English language skills needed by foreign graduate students in the Life Sciences Department at UCLA. The study was undertaken as a result of complaints from foreign students that the English as a Second Language Service Courses ar UCLA do not teach them the English they need in their classes.

Questionnaires containing skills needed by students and the situations in which these skills are used were sent to professors and non-native graduate students in the Life Sciences Department. The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine which of the various aspects of the skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening were the most important for graduate students in general and which were the most difficult for foreign students in this field.

Both professors and students agreed that the reading and listening subskills of getting the main idea and the speaking and writing subskills of organizing ideas were the most important for all students as well as the most difficult for the foreign graduate students.

As a result of the answers received on the questionnaire and comments made in the interviews, a recommendation was made for the implementation of a Language Skills Center divided into five areas of Reading, Writing, Listening, Speaking and Miscellaneous. Here the students would work individually or in groups. Emphasis would be on teaching the English language skills needed in the science fields. The contexts of the individualized lessons would be scientific, allowing the students to see direct application to their own majors.

Santa Monica College ESL Survey

Katherine Ronald Devonshire
(Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

This study sought to determine whether or not the number of students whose first language was not English enrolled in remedial English courses at Santa Monica College, a community college, warranted a comprehensive ESL program, and if so, to delineate their English needs and outline an ESL program.

The survey identified 352 ESL students, representing 20% of the population in the College's English courses. Information in their backgrounds, goals, and reasons for taking English, as well as self-ratings of their language skills was collected, tabulated and studied.

Faculty were interviewed to obtain estimates of the levels of language skills needed by ESL students. Twenty ESL students who had taken three or more English courses at Santa Monica College were interviewed to obtain their opinions on English courses, a self-appraisal of their language skills and suggestiona for improving the English program for ESL students.

Based on all these data, an organized program of progressive instruction in listening, speaking, reading and writing was proposed by the writer to enable ESL students to advance from the lower intermediate level of language acquisition to a level where they could successfully cope with the demands of their other college courses. Recommendations to implement this proposal were also made.

Motivation of Egyptian Teachers of English Studying at the American University in Cairo

Beverly Ann Ehresmann
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

The purpose of this study was to investigate the motivation which prompted Egyptian teachers of English to seek training in the teaching of English as a foreign language at the American University in Cairo. An attempt was also made to ascertain the extent to which the teachers' expectations of the TEFL program were fulfilled. At the start of the 1974-75 academic year, 48 Egyptian students newly enrolled in the three TEFL programs (Certificate, Diploma, and M.A.) at AUC were asked to voluntarily complete a questionaire concerning their education, language, and teaching backgrounds and their reasons for studying TEFL. In spring semester 1975 structured interviews were conducted with subjects continuing in the program and those drop-outs available for questioning. The data were analyzed by ordinary frequency tabulation and by division into nominal categories.

The results revealed that the subjects in the three TEFL programs were differentiated by the type of education they had undergone and the subsequent quantity and quality of their exposure to English. Certificate and Diploma students were primarily interested in improving their English skills and secondarily in improving their teaching skills. In contrast, M.A. students were primarily interested in improving their teaching skills. Certificate students were the most satisfied with the TEFL curriculum as evidenced by the small percentage of drop-outs in their group. Considerable attrition occurred in the Diploma and M.A. groups. Diploma and M.A. students continuing in the TEFL program expected material benefits to result from their TEFL training, but most continuing Certificate students and Diploma drop-outs did not.

A Contrastive Study of Time and Aspect in the Misquito and English Languages

James Benam Thomas
(Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

The basic purpose of this study is to compare and contrast certain features of the tense and aspect system of English and Misquito, focusing on the basic differences and similarities of the two systems, in order to provide better inputs for the tasks of the materials developer and the classroom teacher of English as a foreign language.

The Misquito language is spoken by some 15,000 Misquito people who live on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and Honduras. In addition to their native language, most Misquito people also speak Spanish, the official language of Nicaragua and Honduras. Furthermore, many also use a form of Creole English spoken along the Eastern Coast of these two countries, with "standard English" being taught in secondary schools for a period of three or five years as required foreign language study.

The need for a study of this nature arises from the observed difficulties which Misquito speakers have in learning and using English verb constructions, as well as the complete lack of contemporary research on the Misquito language. The general procedural focus of this study is, therefore, contrastive in nature.

Before entering directly into a comparison and analysis of the tense and aspect systems of the two languages, a brief review of related literature is presented in order to help clarify the general concepts of Time, Tense, and Aspect, using illustrative examples mainly from English, along with some from Spanish. At the same time, a theoretical framwork along with some from Spanish. At the same time, a theoretical framework will be chosen for subsequent use in the comparison of the two tense-aspect systems. Of the many prominent contemporary linguists who have discussed the concepts of Time, Tense, and Aspect, Professor William Bull (1968), is the only one who has pursued the topics in depth and who has developed a theoretical framework adequate for comparing and contrasting the research findings.

The field research on the Misquito verbal system will concentrate on the comparison of certain English verb constructions with equivalent ones in Misquito. A series of three two-way contrasts are to be investigated: 1) the simple present/the present progressive, 2) the present perfect/the present perfect progressive, and 3) the simple past/the present perfect. Special attention will be given to the manifestations of time, tense and aspect as formally marked in Misquito verb constructions. Basic research techniques include working with both bilingual and trilingual Misquito informants.

Following the presentation of the research findings on Misquito, a comparison and analysis will be made of the English and Misquito tense-aspectual systems within the theoretical framework formulated by Bull.

Based on the results of this comparison and analysis, certain conclusions and implications for the development of instructional materials and the teaching of English as a foreign language to native Misquito speakers will be presented and discussed.

An Inside View of Interlanguage: Consulting the Adult Learner About the Second Language Acquisition Process

Karen Marie Schlue
(Diane E. Larsen-Freeman, Chairperson)

Three adults of widely-differing first languages (Spanish, Korean, and Farsi), all university students in an intermediate ESL class, were each tape recorded while conversing in English, and then asked to analyze their own speech and to use the recording as an aid in recalling any grammatical awareness which accompanied their utterances. They were asked to use six categories of awareness which were based on experiences reported by Johnston (1972):

(1) There is no error here. All parts of this sentence are easy for me now.

(2) There is no error here. I almost made a mistake, but I corrected myself in time.

(3) There is an error here. I knew it before I said it, but I didn't have time to correct myself.

(4) There is an error here. I realized it immediately after I said it.

(5) There is an error here. I just realized it now, after hearing the recording.

(6) I'm not sure whether this is totally correct or not.

Categories #1 and #5 received 40% and 34%, respectively, of the subjects' judgements. The infrequency with which categories #2, #3, and #4 were used may be due to the rarity of the described perceptions and/or the inability to recall them later on. The lack of #6 judgements may be due to the strenght of the learners' belief in their interlanguage. No one structure in any subject's data was found to have progressed through all these stages of awareness.

These learners reported being aware of only 10% of their errors while speaking; they identified an additional 25% while listening to the tapes. The remaining 65% of the errors went unnoticed. The subjects were able to correct 8% of their errors in the stream of speech. The results suggest that situations high in communicative urgency (such as natural conversation) find the language learner attending to the accuracy of his message and the appropriateness of his utterance to the discourse rather than to his grammatical accuracy.

Error Explanations: A Procedure for Examining Written Interlanguage Performance

Margaret Robbins
(Diane E. Larsen-Freeman, Chairperson)

This study was conducted to investigate the second language learning process by examining the information obtained from explanations given by the second language learner about his errors. Another purpose of this study was to investigate the effectiveness of eliciting explanations from the learner about his verb errors on the subsequent eradication, or reduction in frequency, of those errors. Secondary areas of investigation were whether any patterns developed in the explanations given.

Eight intermediate-level adult ESL learners, two from each of four native language backgrounds (Arabic, Japanese, Persian, and Spanish) were randomly placed into a control group or an experimental group. Weekly error explanation sessions were conducted with each experimental subject during which the learner examined his uncorrected compositions. The learner attempted to locate his errors, correct them, and was then asked to provide an explanation for each error. In addition to the information obtained during the error explanation sessions, an error analysis of all the compositions written by each of the eight subjects was conducted, and a pretest and a post-test on verb usage and forms were administered to each subject. The information from these sources was analyzed to determine the effectiveness of the error explanation procedure.

The study showed that this technique was not generally effective in reducing the frequency of occurrence of errors in verb forms in the compositions written by the experimental group subjects. However, the results obtained indicated that the effectiveness of this technique appears to be dependent on outside variables, such as the attitude and motivation of the learner, his personality, and/or his past language learning history. In spite of the limitations of the procedure, the technique did yield insights into the strategies employed by the second language learner in dealing with his errors and the study showed that this technique can be used to reveal interlanguage rules.

Thus, the data do not support the hypothesis that eliciting error explanations results in improved performance; however, the data do indicate that this technique does provide useful insights regarding the second language learner and the second language learning process.

A Contrastive Phonology of American English and Yoruba

Debbie Kay Abramson
(Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

In order to communicate orally with a speaker of a target language, a language-learner should strive to attain efficiency in the target language, so that the listener will be paying attention to what is being said instead of how it is being said. This can often be a special problem in the area of pronunciation, and when it occurs, it must be dealt with by the second language teacher.

Yoruba speakers learning English encounter various problems with English sounds and intonation. Like most learners of a second language, Yorubas tend to substitute or super-impose their native sound patterns onto English. For the teacher of English as a Second Language dealing with Yoruba speakers, it would be valuable to observe the sound systems of Yoruba and English in contrast, in order to predict and plan for certain difficulties that their students may have. This thesis consists of both an over-view of the sound systems of English and Yoruba in contrast, in the forms of a contrastive analysis where predictions of the problems that Yoruba speakers may have with the sound system of English are made, and an error analysis, where the problems that were predicted in the contrastive analysis are confirmed or found not to be problematic after all. A table, based upon the results of the error analysis shows the confirmed problems in a hierarchical fashion. Suggestions for teaching pronunciation, and a sample lesson plan for teaching a particular pronunciation point, follow.

Repair in Coversations Between Adult Second Language Learners of English

Joan Lorraine Schwartz
(Evelyn R. Hatch, Chairperson)

Difficulties frequently arise in conversations between second language learners. This study was conducted to investigate how adult second language learners deal with errors and trouble sources in their conversations with one another. The specific aims of the research were to describe the repair work done by the second language learners in discourse, to describe the extralinguistic features which accompanied these repairs, to describe the differences between repairs made by speakers at different proficiency levels, and to compare the description of repairs made by native speakers.

Three videotaped fifteen minute conversations of pairs of friends from varying language backgrounds and proficiency levels were collected. The beginning students were Persian and Japanese, the intermediate students were Persian and Mexican, and the advanced students were Russian and Chinese. The audiotapes were transcribed according to conversational analysis transcription techniques. The segments with repair were transcribed again from the videotapes for the extralinguistic features, according to a system of detailed glosses.

The data showed that the verbal repair work done by the adult second language learners was very similar to repairs done by native speakers of English. However, unlike adult native speakers, when one beginning second language learner corrected the other, the corrections were the outcome of incompetence in phonology, syntax and lexicon. Extralinguistics features were significant in the repairs, in terms of facilitating the process of negotiation for understanding. The three conversations differed significantly according to the students' proficiency level, especially in the pace and the length of the repair operations.

In general, the data indicate that adult second language learners are able to deal with errors and trouble sources in their conversations with one another, and that the students are able to learn specifics (such as vocabulary) as well as conversational strategies (such as negotiation) from conversing with one another.

An Exploratory Analogy Between Decreolization and Second Language Learning: Negation

Ann-Marie E. Stauble
(Diane Larsen-Freeman and John H. Schumann, Co-chairpersons)

This study examines a possible analogy between the process of decreolization and the process of second language learning in a natural environment, i.e. without formal instruction. Speculations are made in order to account for the similarities between the linguistic development exhibited in decreolization and second language learning in terms of extra-linguistic factors which seem to affect the degree to which the learner acculturates toward the 'model' language group.

It is claimed that extra-linguistic factors account for the varying levels of linguistic development exhibited in the fossilized speech of the three second language learners studied here. Within the framework of second langugage learning, these extra-linguistic factors take the form of social and psychological distance (Schumann, 1975, 1976). Further examination of these two factors suggests that psychological distance exerts a greater effect on the second language learner's degree of acculturation than does social distance. In addition, the learner's motivational orientation seems to be the most influential aspect of psychological distance which determines the degree of acculturation toward the 'model' language group and consequently the degree of linguistic development toward the 'model' language.

Role of the South Pacific Commission in Regional Language Policies

Robert Steven Ochsner
(Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

In 1947 a somewhat mixed spirit of idealism and protectionism resulted in a conference of South Pacific colonial powers. France, New Zealand, Australia, the Netherlands, the United States and the United Kingdom each attended the meeting and cooperated in the creation of a regional, intergovernmental commission (Sady, 1948). From this meeting evolved the notion of a South Pacific Commission (SPC) designed to stem the spread of communism, to promote the native economies, and to run the region's affairs without United Nations interference (Cromcombe, 1973).

As the SPC goes into its thirtieth year (1977), a special meeting of member delegates will determine the organizations's future role. Previous attempts to define the "proper functions" of the SPC have resulted in a great examination of the SPC's past record can a realistic assessment of this organization both describe what it can do, and prescribe what it should do.

The SPC is one of the few organizations in the world that can influence, develop and implement language policies on a region-wide basis. In the context of current events SPC language programs, and in particular educational language policies, deserve special attention, for they directly affect more Islanders than any other SPC policy-making function. Yet there exists no description of SPC language-policy processes; no historical or evaluative study has to this date reviewed the approximately 200 volumes of official SPC publications.